# Transactions of the British Society for the History of Pharmacy

J.G.L. Burnby

**Apprenticeship Records**

T.D. Whittet & M. Newbold

**Some Eminent Cambridge Apothecaries**



VOLUME 1 NUMBER 4 1977



https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# TRANSACTIONS OF
# THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY

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*Published by*
*THE BRITISH SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF PHARMACY*
*36, York Place, Edinburgh EH1 8EY*

Printed by G.J. Lawrence & Co. (Printers) Ltd. 122A Chase Side, Enfield, Middlesex, EN2 0QN.

Photoset in English 49 by Upshire Photocomposition
3 The Potteries, Woodgreen Road, Upshire, Essex EN9 3SA

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# APPRENTICESHIP RECORDS

## An examination of Inland Revenue apprenticeship records between the years 1710 and 1811 with particular reference to medicine and pharmacy.

*by J.G.L. Burnby**

During the seventeenth century it was suggested that a national register of indentured apprentices should be kept, but this only came into being by a strange quirk of taxation. In 1709, in the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne, money had to be raised to pay for the war with France and it was decided to impose a tax on apprenticeship premiums. The apprentice-master had to pay at the rate of sixpence in the pound on premiums of £50 or under, and above £50 a shilling in the pound.[1] The frequency with which the figure £49 or even £49/19/6 occurs shows that many must have thought that the higher rate began with £50. Parish apprentices and those put out with money from a charity were exempt. The Act, *Stat:8. Anne. C5,* said "every indenture or other writing which should contain the covenants, articles, contracts or agreements relating to the service of clerks, apprentices or servants" should be sent to be stamped. A head office was set up in London and there were also a number of provincial collecting centres at such towns as Bristol, Norwich, Leicester, Derby, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Lincoln etc. The Act also stated that not only the premiums but the value of anything given to the master, not being money, should be inserted in the indenture. A good example of this occurred on 15th July, 1719 when Walter Kinneir, apothecary of Highworth, Wiltshire, took as apprentice William, son of Thomas Fairthorne of Eastcott, gentleman. He was taxed on a premium of £65, which consisted of £60 money and four hundredweight of cheese, valued at £5. Or there is the case of Nicholas Geare, apothecary of Exeter, who in 1724 was liable for £30 tax, made up of £12 cash and "druggs etc." valued at £18. One would guess that Robert Chanter's widowed mother had been the wife of an apothecary or druggist.[2]

*37 Chase Court Gardens, Enfield, Middlesex. This paper is based on a lecture given to the British Society for the History of Pharmacy in Cambridge 1974.

**Acknowledgements**

The Publishers acknowledge with thanks the help given by E.R. Squibb & Sons, Ltd. and other private donors in the publication of these Transactions.

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

This Act gave rise to 72 large volumes, which may be divided into two groups, Numbers 1 to 40 running from October 1711 to January 1811, are known as the city or town group; in these entries were made daily of the indentures upon which the duty had been paid in London. The second, or country group, ran from May 1710 to September 1808. These entries were made in London of the indentures upon which duty had already been paid to district collectors, which were afterwards sent up by them in batches to be stamped.

The places covered by the city group were, as would be expected, the City of London, Westminster, Southwark, High Holborn, Covent Garden, St. Martins-in-the-Fields etc. and also the outlying areas of Stepney, Shoreditch, Gravesend, Chelsea and so on. Rather more surprising, even in the earliest books, there are entries from Sherborne, Rye, Whitehaven, Nottingham, Wolverhampton, Peterborough and many more from the provinces. As the years of the century wear on the differences between the two groups become less and less easy to discern. Some apprentice-masters are to be found in both sets of books, even though they are still living in the same place, e.g. Henry Nunn of Manningtree, two entries are in the London books, volumes 27 and 31, and two in the country ones, volumes 60 and 64.

The country collections include those of Scotland and Wales, and county towns such as Norwich, Exeter, New Sarum, Cambridge and Chester as well as the rapidly expanding Manchester, Liverpool and Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Each entry gives the date of the tax collection and, if applicable, the date of arrival in London, the name and abode of the master, his trade or craft, the length of the service, whether it is an indenture in one, two or three parts, or articles, the date of the signing of the agreement, the date from when the indenture or article run, the name of the apprentice with, in the earlier years, the father's name, trade, profession or social position and his abode. Finally there is a column for the consideration money and the amount of the tax paid on it. There is also a mysterious thing called 'double duty' which becomes progressively more frequent towards the end of the eighteenth century. The reasons for its imposition have so far not been determined.

From these tomes were extracted the names of the master and apprentice, the places where each lived, the length of service, the consideration and tax paid of every apothecary, surgeon, doctor of physick, chemist, druggist, drysalter and distiller, with a few rare birds such as a chocolate-maker, horse-doctors, and a vinegar maker. In all perhaps some 20,000 entries for masters alone. The institution of apprenticeship may have been breaking down, as it is alleged, in the eighteenth century when the gild systems had in many industries given way to the domestic, but nevertheless it was still a potent force.[3] At Sleaford in 1742 a Leadenham labourer was indicted for setting up and exercising the trade of butcher to which he had not been apprenticed for seven years.[4]

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

Although these records almost completely cover the eighteenth century there are certain gaps in the country series, namely from November 1731 to April 1741, that is between the end of volume 49 and the beginning of volume 50; and also from December 1745 to October 1750, that is between volumes 50 and 51.

## Apprenticeship

The *Encyclopediea Britannica* defines apprenticeship as "The learning of an art, trade or other calling by practical experience under the guidance of a master, perhaps also with some class-room study." This is of course a modern definition and is far too limited when applied to earlier times. Apprenticeship was an integral part of the gild system and developed out of it. Industrial organisation is traditionally said to have passed through three distinct stages or phases which could and did exist simultaneously; namely, firstly the Gild system, secondly the Domestic system and finally the Factory system.[5]

The craft-gild has been defined by Lipson as "a body of skilled workers who lived within the same town and engaged in the same occupation."[6] He added that it was essentially urban and flourished from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. The essence of the gild system was that the various classes of artisans owned both the material on which they worked and the instruments of production; they were independent craftsmen who sold not their labour but the products of their labour. The master craftsman played many parts, he was an 'artisan' in as much that he made commodities, a 'capitalist' who provided tools and materials, and as he sold his goods directly to the consumer, a 'trader' or 'middleman.' It is an intriguing thought that a very good case could be made out for describing, even today, the retail pharmacist as a master craftsman of this type.

The function of the craft-gild were four-fold. Firstly it controlled the industry by means of ordinances which regulated both wages or remuneration, and the prices of the commodities; they also protected the consumer against defective wares and the producer from the competition of untrained workmen. The gildsman who set the brethren at defiance was roughly handled, for example when the dyers gild at Coventry undertook to work at certain rates a number of dyers refused to be bound by this decision, so the gild hired Welshmen and Irishmen to waylay and kill them.[7]

Secondly the gild had religious and social duties, such as presenting 'mistery' plays and pageants. The oldest minute book of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Barber-Surgeons' and Tallow-Chandlers' Company, dated 1442, enjoined that the Society "should go together in procession on Corpus Christi day, in a livery and afterwards play the "Baptizing of Christ" at their own expense. Everyman to be at the procession when his hour is assigned him at the Newgate on pain of forfeiting a pound of wax; to go also with their pageant, when it shall be played in a livery, on the like pain."[8]

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A third function was the relief of the poor, acting as a friendly society whereby they supported their poorer members. In old age and sickness brethren received an allowance from the common box and gildmen were expected to leave legacies for the purpose. Finally the gild maintained solidarity within the craft. All disputes between its members were settled by the gild and no craftsman was allowed to sue a fellow gildsman in a court of law without leave of the gild authorities. On 13 May 1618 Robert Spoure and John Hall of the Newcastle Company were fined 3s 4d. "for using ill speech one to another before the companies." In May 1642 George Durham was fined one shilling for "swearing 2 oaths" and shortly afterwards 6d. for "swearing by god he would drink tobaca being at our meting." This provoked a fine of 3s 4d and an outburst in which George said "he cared not a button for the Company." Mr. Pigg on 29 May 1727 complained "of Mr. Wilkinson for unbrotherly words by calling him swine," which certainly must have been rather tempting. The offender was fined 3s 4d. but upon him asking Mr. Pigg's pardon he was forgiven by vote. [9.]

The training of new recruits was of course essential to the craft-gild's control of industry and this led to the development of apprenticeship. Apprenticeship in its turn had two main functions. Firstly and most obviously it was educational. The apprentice was taught the secrets of the craft and an indenture or legal agreement was made out between master and pupil. The master usually undertook to provide bed and board and instruction, sometimes a small salary and even occasionally schooling. He was expected to regulate his pupil's apparel and was responsible for the apprentice's conduct, such as preventing him haunting alehouses or playing unlawful games. Thus the institution of apprenticeship in the second place was not merely a system of technical training but was also intended to make a good citizen. Citizenship in mediaeval times involved heavy responsibilities and apprenticeship served as a period of initiation into these duties. [10.]

## The statute of artificers

In theory each worker in a craft-gild passed through being an apprentice to being a journeyman and then to a master; there were few problems and no insuperable barriers to an apprentice becoming a master. In practice there were abuses, such as difficulties being placed in the way of journeymen setting up on their own, or the more desirable crafts or trades being confined to certain families. This led, by the end of the fifteenth century to journeymen leaving the cities and large corporate towns to set up as masters, where they were free of gild and municipal restrictions. [11.] By the time of Elizabeth I the tightly organised mediaeval gild system was breaking down. The country was in a state of flux and economic disturbance, both vagrancy and social mobility were on the increase, all of

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which led to the passing of the *Statute of Artificers* in 1563. This was really an attempt to crystallise a situation which had unbeknown already passed beyond the point of no return.[12]

The Act made apprenticeship a legal necessity for the practice of all trades and crafts. These were all specified by name, which later contributed to the Act's undoing, for in the seventeenth century the courts ruled that any trade or craft not specifically mentioned in the Act was not subject to it. The Industrial Revolution created new trades in their hundreds, all of them unheard of in 1563.[13] The Act also said that the apprenticeship should last seven years. By the eighteenth century, although seven years was still the commonest period of time, others are frequently met. Parish apprentices were bound for much larger periods, some as long as sixteen years, indeed the usual length of time for apprentices to the citizens and apothecaries of London was eight years. But the tendency was for the apprenticeship to become shorter, five years was frequent and even three. This may be a reflection of longer and better primary education in some cases.

There were a number of clauses in the Act of 1563 which made certain property and occupational qualifications for apprenticeship, distinguishing between town and country, and also between certain classes of towns.[14] It was not lawful for the son of a husbandman or agricultural labourer to be apprenticed to a townsman, nor was it lawful for any merchant living in a market town to take any apprentice, unless it was his own son, except that the apprentice's parents had lands of a clear yearly value of £3. In cities or towns corporate the apprentice-master, "exercising any of the mysteries or craft of a merchant trafficking beyond the seas, mercer, draper, goldsmith, ironmonger, embroiderer or clothier" could not take any apprentice unless the father or mother held lands, tenements or other hereditaments of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, of one estate of inheritance or freehold at the least. (This had to be certified under the hands and seals of three justices of the peace of the shire where the lands lay and enrolled among the records of the head office of the city or town corporate.)

The stated aim was to reduce entry into the occupation of merchant which was termed, "a cloak for vagabonds and thieves," and to remedy the shortage of agricultural labour. It would seem the clauses were regularly flouted and in any case the property requirements were soon obsolescent owing to the rising rents and land values of the Elizabethan period.[15] According to Davies the practice of paying premiums was a later development although Thrupp does not seem to hold this view.[16] In any case it can be seen from the sums demanded that it was these very occupations which were able to select apprentices from well-to-do families.

It is generally agreed that the apprenticeship laws were never popular and many of the clauses were evaded. Compulsory apprenticeship was finally rescinded in 1814.[17]

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

## The Inland Revenue Registers

Jenkinson has pointed out that these Inland Revenue apprenticeship records are valuable for assessing the comparative status of the various trades, for determining the grouping of industries in particular districts and the shift of population and for information about persons and families of no great social importance.[18] Status and social mobility can be determined firstly by the profession or calling of the father of the apprentice when stated, as it usually was until the middle of the eighteenth century, and secondly by the amount of the premium. As a general rule it is possible to say that the larger the sum of money paid the higher the social position or status of the apprentice-master and his craft or trade. The Surrey records show that sons of gentlemen were in four cases apprenticed or articled to attorneys in the years 1710 to 1740, which is not unexpected, the law always having been in the top flight of the professions, and in addition there were, in the same period, three apprenticed to goldsmiths, who in those days were embryo bankers. Another four become apothecaries' apprentices and three those of barber-surgeons, whilst five were apprenticed to mariners. On December 22 1713 Thomas Wotton, captain of the *Desbovery* took on John, son of William Jordan of Surrey, gentleman, for one East India voyage, the premium being £53/15/0. The following day, Wotton agreed to take John, son of Alexander Geekie, surgeon and citizen of London for five years, for a consideration of £100. Six days later Alexander Geekie had another son Joshua, articled to a certain Charles Sanderson of the Inner Temple, gentleman, for five years, the premium this time being slightly greater at £129.[19]

Rather more surprising to our way of thinking is that three merchant-tailors, four stationers, three drapers and three haberdashers also took gentlemen's sons. It should be remembered, however, that three of these, the merchant tailors, the drapers and the haberdashers were amongst the twelve great livery companies of the City of London. The members of these companies wielded vast power in the City, such as Sir Richard Gresham of the Mercers Company, Lord Mayor in 1538 and uncle of the celebrated Sir Thomas, founder of the Royal Exchange and Gresham College, or Sir Thomas Alleyne of the Grocers who held the same position in 1660. Sir John de Pultney of the Drapers Company lived in magnificent style and was four times Lord Mayor in the time of Edward III.[20] He was the ancestor of the Pultneys, Earls of Bath; an apothecarial member of the family was Richard Pulteney of Loughborough and Blandford, a well-known botanist. The gentry in England, as is well known, were not averse to putting their sons to trade in order to found their fortunes.[21] In 1713 the two sons of the late William Tourville of Aston, Leicestershire, were placed out as apprentices in London, Henry with Edward Litchfield, citizen and haberdasher, and Thomas with Thomas Nelson, citizen and apothecary. It is interesting to note that the consideration money to the

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

apothecary was £40 and that to the haberdasher exactly twice as much. [22] The Turvilles were a well-known Leicestershire family. [23]

John Latton Esquire of Esher, Surrey, must have been a rich man to have been able to pay £800 for his son Henry to be bound by common indenture for seven years from 25 June 1713, to Thomas Wilson, citizen and clothworker and merchant free of trading to the Levant. [24] The highest premium found was that given by Sir James Bateman, citizen and fishmonger in October 1713 for his son James, whom he apprenticed to Sir John Williams, citizen and mercer who was also "free of the Company of Merchants trading to the Levant Seas." The figure was £1,075 for seven years. One of these princely fishmongers in 1758 claimed that for six months of the year he employed between 1,300 and 1,500 men. [25] Besides mercers, woollen and linen drapers, merchants, carpenters, tallow-chandlers and iron-mongers, who could usually command a reasonably substantial sum for a premium, gentlemen who had either hit hard times or else perhaps had lost all patience with a wayward son, apprenticed their off-spring to tanners, blacksmiths, butchers, gardeners and curriers and even to such lowly beings as cordwainers and frame-work knitters. Clerks, that is clergymen, placed their sons in much the same occupations as gentlemen. It should be remembered though that it was not until the early part of the reign of George III that the parson rose to the same social and cultural scale as the gentry. [26] Gregory King's tables compiled in 1688, show the lessers clergy to have an average income of £50 a year, whilst the gentry had £280.

These records also pose a number of problems. For example what did a young man learn when he was apprenticed to a gentleman? One might hazard a guess that he would be taught the manners of the polite world and be given advantageous introductions, but this is less likely when it is noted that the father of the apprentice was also a gentleman, or perhaps even an esquire. Perhaps it is another example of the deep-rooted English belief that children can be better educated by someone who is not their parent. [27] It is noticeable in most of these cases that articles were taken out rather than indentures. Articles were also nearly always, but not invariably, drawn up when attorneys were involved, and as the century progressed this became ever more frequent. Merchants also often used articles, and occasionally surgeons, but it was not a monopoly of the future professions, as there are examples in cases of bricklayers, butchers, dyers, joiners, etc. [28] It is difficult to define the exact difference between the terms 'indentures' and 'articles,' as the latter is not defined in the law dictionaries of the eighteenth century. The compiler of the Surrey apprenticeship records inclines to two possible differences. [29] Firstly, that articles were used where particular needs are not covered by the conventional phraseology of trade or credit apprenticeship rules which had altered but slightly from the end of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth. Secondly, that one of the commonest modifications was an omission from articles of the

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provisions by which the master occupied a tutelary position. The records show that all over Britain apprentices to mantua makers and cordwainers were to be found in great numbers, whilst in certain counties such as Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire those to frame-work knitters were also numerous. Barber-surgeons were everywhere well represented, in fact in London in the first half of the eighteenth century, there are lists of eight or ten of them one after another. It seems likely that all the indentures signed at the Barber-Surgeons Hall within a given period were brought round together to the tax collector's office and were there stamped all at the same time. But apprentices to certain trades are noticeable by their absence or infrequence, for example, hatters, glovers, innkeepers, miners and brewers (though there were great numbers of distillers in the years from 1710 to 1730 or so.) Campbell wrote in 1747, "The Brewers in London, as far as I can learn seldom take apprentices; his work is carried on by Labourers, who have acquired their knowledge by Experience; and those who intend to set up the Business have either been acquainted with it, by being Son or Relation to some Man in the Trade, or take their Chance by depending on the Skill and Honesty of the Clerks and Servants."[30] In fact there are a few brewers to be found who took apprentices such as John Poole in 1723 or Samuel Johnson thirty years later.[31]

Greengrocers were not represented though fruiterers were occasionally noted. John Hutchins, fruit-seller of St. Sepulchres, took on Ann, daughter of Ann Barnham for five years in 1726 for £5, and, on a rather higher level, Ezekial Jemmitt's son Thomas was apprenticed to John Camden, citizen and fruiterer, on payment of £70.[32] Campbell wrote "The Fruiterer is a Shopkeeping Branch: They sell Fruits of all sorts, both of our own Growth and that of Foreign Countries, such as Lemmons, Oranges, etc. They take no apprentices that I know of, nor is their Mystery worth serving an Apprenticeship to: though many of them make good Bread of their Branch."[33]

Jenkinson remarks on the fact that certain occupations are only or nearly only represented by the parents of the apprentices and not by themselves taking apprentices, for example clerks, yeomen, labourers, farmers and husbandmen.[34] If in the first case he meant someone in Holy orders then this is not surprising as priests did not learn by apprenticeship but by attendance at a university or dissenting academy. The other occupations however are rural. Section XIX of the Elizabethan *Statute of Artificers* stated that only the sons of townsmen, "neither labourers nor husbandmen" could be apprenticed to townsmen and, conversely Section XXVIII in an effort to halt the drift from agriculture provided for compulsory apprenticeship to husbandry, or to certain other occupations on the requirement of a householder with half a ploughland in tillage, but as Clarkson writes the Act was so modified in the Commons that the whole original intention was undermined.[35] In fact the apprenticeship records show that the move to the towns continued unabated. However a few

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apprenticeships to husbandry are to be seen throughout the century.[36]

It is apparent from these registers that specialisation was rife in the eighteenth century, particularly later on. Amongst the crafts, if they can be described as such, where parents saw fit to place their young, were kersey-meer cloth weaving, scarlet dyeing, willow winding, fanstick making, clear starching and paring of leather. Tinkers, hop-bag weavers, copper chapmen, wisket makers, bell-hangers, glass scollopers, coney-wool cutters and kneegarter makers, to name a few, all took apprentices, to say nothing of birdcage makers and even coffin-handle makers who flourished in Staffordshire. Perhaps amongst the most intriguing is the face-painter of Covent Garden, and for a multiplicity of ploys one can scarcely beat Henry Raine of Durham who agreed to teach George Maire of Sunderland how to be a blacksmith, a locksmith, a loriner, a cutler, a bladesmith and a clockmaker, all for £10 and in seven years. In sheer exasperation the clerk has added in brackets *ne plus ultra.*[37]

The growth of Britain's overseas interests and connections is also obvious. Many of the apprentices hailed from distant lands. In 1711 William, son of John Brinsden who was a merchant in the island of Barbados was indentured with Samuel Pye, a well-known barber-surgeon of Bristol, who was to have many apprentices, and four years later Richard Beale of Antigua in the West Indies placed his son John with Thomas Herbert, apothecary of Coventry.[38] From closer at hand came Albert Angell of Drammen, Norway to join George Marteins, mariner of London and in the same register is an entry which titillates the imagination when Jurgen, son of Peter van Spreckelson Johanssohn, merchant of Hamburg, is put out at a cost of £300 to Deborah Dunt of London, widow.[39] The movement was not only in one direction. Wadham, son of Thomas Wyndham, late of Dorset, Esquire, was in 1714 articled with John and Samuel Pitt of Cadiz, merchants and co-partners for five years. The money necessary to learn, what may be guessed as being a lucrative business, was £400.[40] Apprenticeships in the then American colonies were not unusual and could even occur after the American War of Independence, as when Thomas Fairchild signed an apprentice agreement with Messrs. Puffer and Back of New York, Druggists, on 25 April 1803.[41]

Foreigners were also coming into the country or else had been here only a generation or so. There are obvious Dutch names such as Philip Vandewall, surgeon of Hemel Hempstead and possibly related to John Vandewall, citizen and draper, whose apprentice John Hope came from Rotterdam in 1714.[42] The Huguenots, especially in the first twenty years are much in evidence in London and to a lesser extent in Kent and Surrey. They are frequently found in the work which is traditionally associated with the French, such as jewellry, hair-dressing, perfumery and dress making. On 20 April 1713 there is one particularly interesting entry for it is entirely in French, namely "Pierre Validoye dans la Parroise de St. Paul, Covent Gardens, Horloguer" and "Fran(cois) Bardoulas dans la susdit

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Parroise."[43] There were many too who were in medicine such as Francis Guiteau of St. Giles in the Fields, doctor of physick, and Simon Audovin, surgeon.

It can easily be seen that London was like a sponge which never reached the point of saturation, the young men from all over England and Wales, with a few from Scotland and overseas, flocked in to be apprenticed to citizens of London. That many of these well established tradesmen had kept close ties with their own home towns and counties can be seen from their lists of apprentices, for many hailed from near the place of origin of their master.

At first sight the number of women who were either apprentices or masters is surprising, but as the Elizabethan statute made membership of the craft gilds compulsory on all who engaged in a particular industry, and this ruling extended to women, it should not cause such comment. Women have always been employed in the woollen industry and at the end of the fourteenth century one quarter of all the cloth woven in York was the work of women. Nor should be forgotten Chaucer's wife of Bath, who made cloth as fine as any found in Flanders. Lipson quotes the wool packers of Southampton who seem to have been exclusively women; the two wardens of their company, a unique women's industrial gild, were elected by the women from their own ranks.[44] Women apprentices appear with some frequency in certain trades such as fan-painters, milliners and mantua-makers, and they may be apprenticed to men or women, who may be widowed or spinsters. By the custom of London, which was copied by many other cities such as Norwich, the widow was allowed to take up the freedom of her late husband, pursue his trade and even employ journeymen and apprentices. The *Stamford Mercury* for 22 May 1718 carried the following advertisement, "This is to give Notice that the Widow, Palmer, Relict of Stephen Palmer, Plumber and Glazier in Stamford, deceased, designs to carry on her husband's Trade and her own, as before, so that Gentlemen, or others, may have any Thing relating to the said Business perform'd after the best manner. By me, Ann Palmer."[45] Furthermore, since time immemorial every son or daughter of a freeman of a Company, with few exceptions, had the right to claim admission to the freedom upon proof of legitimacy and that his or her father was a member at the time of their birth. This presumably accounts for the fact that some women apprentice-masters who are not necessarily widows, are found in strange positions, such as blacksmiths, founders and shipwrights.[46]

In November of 1714, Mary, the daughter of a perriwigmaker was indentured for five years to Elizabeth Matthews mantua-maker, wife of John Matthews of St. Margarets, Westminster, surgeon. This is not unexpected but rather more difficult to decide upon is the case of Elizabeth, daughter of the late Richard Martin, apothecary of Stepney, who was apprenticed to Robert Magnus, citizen and distiller of London.[47] Did she learn the art of preparing mint water, vinegar and spirits, or rather did she

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work for Magnus' wife? Both Mary Briscoe and Deborah Wilson are described as citizens and barber-surgeons, and both took apprentices for seven years on receiving £10, namely Samuel Bond (1711) of Clerkenwell whose father was a coachman, and Richard Darling (1716) of Stamford, Lincolnshire, the son of an exciseman.[48] Likewise in 1717 Susannah Seggar, widow of Ye Devizes, Wiltshire, apothecary, agreed to have Thomas Hood, the son of a yeoman as an apprentice in consideration of £49.[49] Certainly the city of York showed a tolerant attitude towards women medical practitioners. The Corporation House Book of 1572 records "and forsomuch as it apereth that Isabell Warwick has skill in the scyens of Surgery and hath done good therein, it is therefore agreed that she, upon her good behaviour, shall use the same without lett of any of the surgeons of the city."[50]

In Bristol and to a lesser extent in Gloucester until 1720 and even later, it was usual for a husband and wife to take on an apprentice together, whether the young person were male or female. For example Ebenezer Burdock of Bristol, pharmacopolist, and Agnis his wife signed agreements with Christopher Sheppard, maltster of Froome that they would instruct his son John and give him board and lodging for seven years.[51] This would seem to be a peculiarity of this part of the West Country, where incidentally the entries were written in Latin for very much longer than in the rest of Britain.

## 'Colting'

As the tight hold of the apprenticeship laws was loosened it became more frequent for the apprentice to live out. Lipson quotes the example of an apprentice bound to a Gloucester weaver in 1714 for four and a quarter years; the contract stipulated that, "he should find himself in food, drink, lodging and apparel, and might go home every Saturday to Monday; his wages were to be, out of every shilling made by his master, 2½d. in the first year, 3d. the second and third years and 4d. the fourth year." This form of apprenticeship was sometimes known as 'colting.'[52] Examples similar to this are frequent but exact numbers are largely dependent on the conscientiousness of the clerk who was writing up the details. In June 1724 George Stevenson, a surgeon of Northampton, took on young James Marriott of the same town for three years; he was taxed on £46 which was composed of £22 in money and three years "diett" valued by the master at £24.[53] On other occasions no money at all was handed over, as in the case of George Floter who was apprenticed for seven years to John Burleston, barber-surgeon of Durham; the master was taxed on £17/10/0 which was derived from "3½ years diet val[d]. per master at £5 p.a."[54] So in effect young George was kept for nothing for three and a half years and the master did not charge for instruction. The taxman obviously viewed the question of diet seriously for in volume 44 the entry of Henry Crow, surgeon of Chipping

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Sodbury was scored out with the note appended, "dyett not valued." The indenture was returned unstamped. Sometimes the diet was valued by the commissioners rather than by the master. Not infrequently, besides the diet, wearing apparel and washing were specifically mentioned. On at least two occasions only the washing was mentioned. When Thomas Griffeth, apothecary of Shrewsbury, became the apprentice-master of Jacob Baylies of Worcester for two years in 1729 he demanded £30 but he was taxed on £32, as two years washing was valued at £2. In the other case, curiously enough also in Shrewsbury, seven years washing was valued at £1. By the nineteenth century the wheel had turned full circle and the master was paying money to the apprentice's parents. John Sim, a cabinet maker in Shoreditch, agreed to pay his apprentice's mother 2s. a week for "cloathes, etc." in the last six years of a seven year training, whilst John Taite, a taylor in Oxford Street, had already given £10 to his apprentice's father on 23 October 1806 and another £5 was due two years later.[55] In neither case did the master receive any consideration money. Only one entry was found in which wages were specified. Thomas Rootes was indentured with Richard Fifield, surgeon, apothecary and man midwife, for four years in 1809 at a cost of £84 and he was to receive £6 in his first year, £7 in his second and £11 in the third. Nothing is said about the fourth and last year.[56]

Sometimes it may be surmised that the apprentice-master had attempted to avoid paying part of the tax due, and had failed. On 5 October 1731 Isaac Hamilton, surgeon, etc., of Whitehaven paid the duty on £25 but a few days later had to pay up on an extra £10, the value set on two years diet by the commissioners. A similar case was that of William Warrilow (called both barber-surgeon etc. and surgeon, etc.) of Stone, Staffordshire who first of all paid tax on a mere £5/5/0 and then the next day on 23 June 1716 had to fork out on a further £28, the commissioners' assessment of seven years diet. Similar experiences occurred to Joseph Thorpe, barber-surgeon of Chesterfield and George Hawkins, barber-surgeon in Luton.[57] Hugh Trimmel, London apothecary, had even more infuriating difficulties. On 11 July 1721 he paid his tax of 25s. for the consideration money of £50 paid by John Corey, clerk of Landbeach, Cambridgeshire, that is he paid at the rate of 6d. in the £. Three years later Trimnel received a further £10 and on this he had to pay 10s. in the £, as the total sum was now £60. But, perhaps worst of all were the problems of Benjamin Bristow, another London apothecary. On 22 March 1721 Joseph Hall paid his tax of £1/1/0 for the £42 premium given him by Richard Witherston of Sutton, Herefordshire, clerk, then William the apprentice was turned over to Bristow on 6 October 1724, his father paying a further fifteen guineas. The 21 October William's new master duly paid his tax of 7s.10½d. Unfortunately the tax-collector decided to add both premiums together making £57/15/0 in all and, furthermore, that the total was subject to the higher rate. As a result the unhappy Benjamin had to return again on the 23rd. and pay the difference due of £1/8/10½d.[58]

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## Registration regulations

By 1300 the city of London ordinances showed that steps had been taken to enforce registration by the master in the first year of the apprentice's term. [59] One of the bye-laws of the Apothecaries' Society required that within one month of beginning his apprenticeship the apprentice had to be brought to the Hall to be examined, and if approved he was then formally bound by the Clerk. [60] The company of barber-surgeons appear to have had similar regulations. In London these rules were closely adhered to, the tax records showing that the date of the signing of the indenture was very close to, if not the same, as that from which the apprenticeship was to run. In the provinces the situation was more complicated.

Sometimes the date of signing the agreement, of the beginning of the apprenticeship and the local collection of the tax could all be the same, as for example in the case of Thomas York of Stourbridge, barber chirurgeon and perukemaker. [61] More usually the duty was brought in to the local office some weeks later, occasionally years could elapse. Peter Moore signed his articles with Thomas Weston, attorney of Middlewich on 15 May 1726, his time of five years starting the same day, but the Inland Revenue office did not receive its due until 26 April 1733, that is nearly two years after the apprenticeship had finished. Richard Periam, gentleman of Exeter made them wait seven years [62] whilst John Adkinson, merchant of Carlisle, surpassed them in succeeding in with-holding the tax for ten years and two months. These were probably attempts at tax evasion. Anything up to a year, and sometimes even more, could pass before the money arrived in London, which is not surprising when it is considered that some was coming from as far away as Edinburgh.

What is of greater interest is the period of time that could pass between the signing of the indentures and the beginning of the apprenticeship. Most frequently they were concurrent but it was not at all unusual for the signing of the agreement to take place about two months after the boy had started his time, probably a sensible arrangement to see that both parties were suited to each other. In the Court Minute book of the Barber-Surgeons and Tallow Chandlers Company of Chester there is written 1 February 1716 that an order of 8 October 1690, made unanimously by the Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of Chester, was not being kept as it should. They had agreed "that all indentures within the city should be entered, recorded and inrolled (in) the Prentice Office of the City within such time and in such manner as in the same order expressed," that is, it must be carried out by "the freeman within six months after the date of indenture upon pain of 6s.8d." In fact rule 14 of the Company was even stricter. It was "ordered when any brother take any apprentice by indentures the Clerk of the Company is to make, and the Master bring the Indenture to the Aldermen of the Company, within three months after the apprentice is so bound, and

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the name and date of the indentures inrolled by the Clerk in our book of orders." If the master failed to do so he had to pay a fine of 4s.4d., half of which went to the Company and half to the clerk. [63]

But on occasion the back dating could run into years. Benjamin Hector, surgeon of Lichfield signed the indentures with Thomas Hall of Featherson, gentleman, father of Jonathan, on 9 November 1715 but the apprenticeship began on 15 May 1712. The same occurred with John Luscombe, pupil of a Devonshire surgeon, William Predam, whose papers were signed 16 November 1743, but the apprenticeship had begun on 24 June 1741. [64] From lettters of the Sturton family it can be seen that this practice still occurred in the 1820's. Ann Sturton in her letter from Sleaford to her eldest son William, who was with a Mr. Snaith of Boston, wrote "Your father has spoke to Charles Pearson (a local doctor) who says the dating back (of) indentures is certainly not legal, but what they are constantly doing and has no doubt but it will be done in your case, he says it would be very hard to refuse you, having really served. Don't communicate this opinion to anyone, the less said the better, till your father comes which perhaps will be next Thursday. At the same time he intends to pay your premium and have you bound." [65]

## Medical and pharmaceutical scene

So far this study of the Inland Revenue records has shown that the apprenticeships of apothecaries, surgeons, chemists and druggists appear to conform to the general pattern of the eighteenth century, but these records can also be used to give information particularly pertaining to the medical and pharmaceutical scene.

First of all it is interesting to note to what trades and professions apothecaries and others put their own sons. The fuller detail of the earlier volumes makes this an easy task. Philip Pear, a druggist of Exeter apprenticed his sons John and Philip in April 1716, one to an upholder and the other to a serge-maker, whilst nearly two years earlier William had been placed with a surgeon. [66] If the son was to follow in his father's footsteps often the parent was the apprentice-master but on other occasions the boy was sent to a friend in a nearby town or perhaps, like Thomas Halfhyde, the son of a Cambridge apothecary, to an apothecary in London. [67] Some sons passed down the social scale, as would be the case when Henry the son of Thomas Greenwood, an apothecary in Warwickshire was placed with a cutler of Birmingham for a mere £3/4/6d.; others rose as when John Biscoe, an apothecary of London managed to have his son John articled with Henry Betts of Lincolns Inn, gentleman for £150. [68] It is noticeable how frequently surgeons' sons were apprenticed to apothecaries. In 1723 William Nightingale, a surgeon of Crawley, Surrey sent his son John to train under William Turner, an apothecary of London. [69] This would seem to be

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a habit of long standing as can be seen in the court minute books of the Society of Apothecaries; for example a Canterbury surgeon, Enoch Benister, sent his son to Jonathan Leigh in 1679.[70] The Burgess books of Bristol also confirm this practice. On 17 March 1728/29 Andrew Pocock, pharmacopolist of Bristol, took on John Bennet, the son of a surgeon in the same city and some years later Giles Greville, another well-known apothecary, took on a Gloucestershire surgeon's son as an apprentice.[71] Conversely it was not unusual for an apothecary to place his son with a barber-surgeon, as did John Bott, an apothecary of Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire, a member of a well established medical family in the Midlands, in 1712.[72] These were probably attempts to widen their spheres of knowledge and practice and the beginnings of general practice.

## Premiums

It has already been indicated that the premiums demanded by apothecaries throughout the whole period under review were by no means inconsiderable, but this could not be said of the barber-surgeons. The difference between the consideration monies required by the apothecary and barber-surgeon apprentice-masters is very apparent. In both the London and country districts in 1710 to 1712 the bulk of the barber-surgeons were paid up to £20, whilst the apothecaries required sums between £40 and £70, the commonest figure being £50. A few barber-surgeons or surgeons could obtain sums as high as £100 or even £150; James Ferne received £180 and the famous William Cheseldon £150 in 1712, which had risen to £210 and £350 respectively by 1730.[73] By the end of the century the picture was very different. The term barber-surgeons was now abandoned except for a few die-hards in the North East. In its place were the surgeons and the members of first the Company and then the College of Surgeons. Their status had risen greatly. Few premiums were under £50 and the majority £50 to £100. The lordly surgeons of the London hospitals, who virtually had the College of Surgeons in their pocket could command enormous sums. In August 1800 Benjamin Travers was apprenticed for seven years to Astley Cooper for a consideration of £630.[74]

In contrast the term apothecary was slowly but steadily declining and was now largely replaced by the dual title surgeon and apothecary, or "surgeon, etc." as the clerk often wrote it, in fact the general practitioner of the future. The commonest sums of money for these people were £100 or else £105. Another not unusual amount was £157/10/0d. These rather odd sums were due to endeavours on the part of the apprentice-master to make the parents or guardians pay the tax due, the tax on £100 premiums being £5 and that on £150, £7/10/0d. It was difficult to eliminate completely because to be exact the duty on £105 is £5/5/0d. and occasionally examples can be seen where the master is obviously determined to pay no tax at all and the final premium becomes £105/5/1½d.

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By this time the number of chemists and druggists had greatly increased. Far from the usual view that they were a poor depressed group of people, the premiums give a different picture. The usual sums varied from £50 to £100, and over £100 was common especially in the provinces. Premiums as low as five shillings are to be found and one assumes that the indentures were drawn up between close relatives as, for example, when Charles Vachell, senior, of Cardiff, a chemist took on two apprentices Charles junior and William, in 1803. In each case the premium was only £1 and so it would be a reasonable assumption that they were his sons.[75] In the opening years of the nineteenth century just when compulsory apprenticeship was about to be abolished, often no consideration was given at all. The tax collector, however, even then demanded his cut and arbitarily took fifteen shillings. In these closing years a note was often added, "Not indentured."[76]

A clearer picture of the position that members of the medical and allied professions held and the premiums they could command can be obtained if we look at the sums paid by other professions, crafts and trades in mid-century:

| | |
|---|---|
| Weavers: | £1/10/0d. to £4 |
| Nailors: | £2/10/0d. to £3 |
| Cordwainers: | £3 to £8 |
| Joiners: | £4/4/0d. to £20 |
| Watchmakers: | £10/10/0d. to £15 |
| Butchers: | £6 to £16 |
| Grocers: | £10 to £50 |
| Sadlers: | £25 to £45 |
| Coachmakers: | £30 to £50 |
| Merchants: | £40 to £262 |
| Attorneys: | £100 to £150 |

## Terminology

In the eighteenth century no London apothecary could secure the Company of Surgeons' licence unless he was first disenfranchised from the Society of Apothecaries, an expensive business. The same was true of the College of Physicians, and if the would-be-applicant had ever indulged in trade then he would never be allowed to become a Fellow.[77] According to Holloway the ideas that physicians, surgeons and apothecaries were separate and mutually exclusive orders persisted well into the nineteenth century. He quotes from Chief Justice Best who pronounced in 1828 that "the distinction between the various departments of the (medical) art had been drawn with great precision."[78] By the time of the select committee on medical education in 1834, however, it was agreed amongst the London hospital surgeons that the intermingling of the physician's and surgeon's spheres had increased considerably since 1780 and that by 1834 the boundaries had been entirely broken down. It was equally true that the practice of the great mass of surgeons could not be differentiated from that

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of the apothecaries. G.J. Guthrie, president of the Royal College of Surgeons, believed that out of 8,536 members of the College only two hundred confined their practice to surgery, and of these, 130 to 140 lived in London. The remainder combined midwifery and pharmacy with their surgery and were general practitioners. To protect themselves from the penalties of section 20 of the *Apothecaries Act* of 1815 it was necessary for the surgeons to become licentiates of the Society of Apothecaries. However by 1834 only 41% held the double qualification, and although there are examples of surgeons being fined it seems many evaded section 20 with impunity. A good example of this can be seen when tracing the practice of the Hammonds of Edmonton. The first member of the family in 1742 is described as an apothecary but his son-in-law, who followed him, referred to his business as that of a surgeon and apothecary in his will of 1790. He exhorted his three sons, all of whom were members of the College of Surgeons, to stay together; in fact they split up and all described themselves as surgeons only. They obviously worked as general practitioners, one certainly had a shop and none became licentiates of the Society, even though they practised only eight or nine miles from the city of London. [79.] Nevertheless, after the passing of the 1815 Act, there was an increasing tendency for surgeons to take the second qualification, and Holloway adds that the term "surgeon-apothecary" was used to describe such practitioners. This term, however, is of far older usage than the nineteenth century. In Scotland it dates back to at least the seventeenth century and in the provinces of England it was used with great frequency from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Examples can also be found from much earlier times such as Robert Noble of Darlington, chirurgeon and apothecary who had an apprentice in 1713, or Thomas Knowler, apothecary and surgeon of Canterbury who took on Thomas Lineal the following year. [80.]

Indeed the terms are to all intents and purposes interchangeable. Henry Luximo(o)re of Okehampton was called a "surgeon" in 1758 and 1766, an "apothecary" in 1771, a "surgeon and apothecary" in 1784 and a "surgeon, etc." five years later. Or there was George Le Grand(e) of Canterbury, a "surgeon, etc." in 1769, a "surgeon" and "apothecary" in 1776 and by 1780 he was a "surgeon". [81.] The same story can be told of George Kennedy of Birmingham who was supplied drugs by William Jones of Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, of John Hanson of Barnsley and of the well-known William Hey of Leeds. Hey, one of the founders of the future Leeds Royal Infirmary studied under John Hunter and yet it was to him that the Reverend James Stillingfleet took his home grown *Rheum palmatum* in 1797 to have its quality checked. [82.] William Elmhirst of Barnsley is described as an apothecary but from his account book it can be seen he carried out innoculations, phlebotomies and even the amputation of a leg, a major operation. [83.] The case of Henry Nunn of Manningtree is an interesting one. In 1759 he had been apprenticed to James Nelson, surgeon,

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of the same town. By the time he started to take apprentices himself in 1773 he was termed a "surgeon and apothecary", and again so in 1778 but by 1782 when he took on Joseph Nunn, probably his nephew, he was a "surgeon" and in 1787 a "surgeon, etc."[84]. He seems, however, to have primarily regarded himself as a surgeon. In September 1795 he made an indenture of partnership with William Silk, apothecary, to be joint dealers in "the profession, art and business of a surgeon and apothecary in buying and selling all sorts of drugs and medicines necessary, and administering same, and in giving advice to patients" but William Silk was particularly enjoined "to take upon himself the active and laborious parts of the partnership and more particularly the apothecary's part."[85]. The very first work John Green Crosse, the lithotomist of Norwich, did as an apprentice to Thomas Bayly, surgeon in Stowmarket was to "roll up pills." On 13 September 1806 he painted bottles in the surgery and the next morning before breakfast drew a tooth for the first time.[86].

As Cameron has pointed out, "It is clear from literature of the period [i.e. the last two or three decades of the eighteenth century] that the ordinary surgeon could not make a living if he confined his activities to the treatment of external diseases and accidents. He was compelled to keep a shop and to sell drugs, and to practise midwifery though at the best his training had been in anatomy and surgery alone."[87]. Indeed surgeons' shops originated at a considerably earlier period. James Yonge wrote in his *Journal* in 1693, "The beginning of this year I had prepared to send my son John to Leyden to travel and study" but John married secretly. The marriage was discovered a fortnight later and his father wrote "I stopt his voyage to Holland and put them to live at the dock, furnisht his shop, gave him some money and all the profits of the place, which was a good £100, besides practice,"[88]. The inventory of James Condliff, surgeon of Tideswell, Derbyshire who died in 1753 tells us that his utensils and drugs in the shop were valued at £10.[89].

The inference is that the surgeon-apothecary is not a nineteenth century development but rather one of the eighteenth century, and is not one of the metropolis but the provinces. In fact the general practitioner already existed but the professional bodies closed their eyes to the fact until well into the nineteenth century.

## Physicians and holders of degrees in medicine

In the Scottish returns it is noticeable that physicians, such as Alexander Campbell of Ayr, Martin Eccles of Edinburgh, Alexander Rose of Aberdeen and James Hunter of Moffat all regularly took apprentices, but this was not the case in England. The lordly members of the College of Physicians, who were the only members of the medical profession who could truly bear the title of "physician" would not stoop to being involved in apprenticeship. Nevertheless some who called themselves physicians did

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take apprentices, such as Nathaniel Whithill of Wantage in 1723, or John Exter of Barnstaple in 1781, or Nunn Prettyman.[90] More usually one comes across the phrase "Doctor of Physick" or "Practitioner in Physick and surgery." Some of these men, such as Thomas Vincent of Plymouth and Edward Spr(e)y of the same town became Extra-Licentiates of the College of Physicians. Early in his career Sprey called himself an apothecary and Vincent a surgeon but by 1760 and 1762 respectively they referred to themselves as "Practitioner in Physic" or "Doctor of Physicke."[91]

Holders of Doctorates in medicine do occasionally figure in the tax records. William Royle of Ely, described as "surgeon, etc., M.D.," took an apprentice in May 1804, and a hundred years earlier George Vaux, M.D. of Reigate, Surrey had an apprentice Richard Smith bound to him for seven years by common indenture.[92] Others such as Edward Burnet of Ware, M.D. and Peter Troy of Shields, Northumberland, M.D. apprenticed their sons to barber-surgeons in London.[93] It is possible that these men were Quakers and so unable to send their sons to English universities. The great grandfather of William Curtis, the apothecary and botanist held an M.D. but being an early convert to the Society of Friends was unable to send his son to Oxford or Cambridge and so trained him himself.

Other holders of medical degrees may be hidden under the descriptions "surgeon, etc." or "apothecary and surgeon." William Chambers of Hull, according to Munk, studied under Boehaave and held an M.D. of Leyden, yet when Ralph Darling was bound to him in 1744 he described himself as "surgeon, etc."[94] Later Darling practised as an apothecary in Hull and trained many apprentices. He married Chambers' daughter and their son William Chambers Darling inherited the Bagshawe estate of Oakes-in-Norton, Derbyshire.[95] The social worlds of the physician and apothecary have often been stated to be far apart and such a marriage to be rare, but a close examination of the apprenticeship records and of the lives of individual surgeons and apothecaries would probably prove it to be quite otherwise.[96]

The term "doctor" was frequently used in Scotland; John Lermont of Edinburgh always called himself such, as did many others. The Scottish influence may perhaps be seen when John Brougham of Cockermouth, Cumberland, referred to himself as a "doctor" when he made an apprenticeship agreement with William Irving. The title became more common by the end of the century; and by 1805 William Kerr of Northampton was calling himself "Doctor, etc." when Samuel Jeyes was apprenticed to him.[97]

## The rise of the chemists and druggists

Wall and Cameron in their *History of the Society of Apothecaries of London* quote from the London Directory of 1715 which stated that in the

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area from Holborn to Aldgate there were nine apothecaries, thirty-nine druggists and two chemists. In 1721 the Society asked the College of Physicians if they would join them in trying to curb the chemists and druggists but the physicians professed themselves not to be interested. Their numbers continued to grow and they began to menace the livelihood of the older type of apothecary. In 1748 the Society took steps in an endeavour to control the interlopers but were unsuccessful. By 1818 it could be written, "Within the last thirty-five years, a new order, the dispensing chemist or druggist has arisen, which is very similar to what the apothecary was a century and a half ago. We believe that prior to 1788, there was not in all London more than half a dozen druggists, who dispensed medicines from physicians' prescriptions. There are now above six hundred." [98]

As in the case of the surgeons and the apothecaries there is a complete intermingling of the terms chemist and druggist. James South, a cousin of the Sturtons of Cambridge and Peterborough, but who migrated to the Borough High Street, Southwark, is described as a "chemist" when he became the apprentice-master of Joseph Filee in 1779, but a "druggist, etc." in 1787.[99] Or there is William Jones of Covent Garden, who we certainly know was a dispensing chemist and druggist and a supplier of drugs to apothecaries in the South and the Midlands.[100] In 1764 he is designated "chymist, etc"., five years later "druggist, etc." and in 1771 just a "druggist". He and his son John, in 1783, reverted to the title of "chymists".[101]

The combination of druggists and grocers was not as frequent as might have been supposed, though it did exist, particularly towards the end of the period; men such as Richard Grinnell of Ledbury in 1808 and Thomas Humphreys of Shrewsbury called themselves druggists and grocers. [102] Rather earlier was John Fallowfield of Penrith. He was apprenticed to a druggist and he called himself this when he took an apprentice in 1769, then in 1774 he changed his title to grocer and druggist, but by 1779 he was a druggist again. [103] Obviously the exact terminology meant little to him. A particularly interesting set of entries are those of Messrs. Gales and Dixon of Lynn Regis. In 1804 they were surgeons, apothecaries and druggists but in 1806, chemists and druggists. [104] Probably it was a similar set-up to that which occurred in the Sturton family some thirty years later. William, the eldest son, after an apprenticeship, became a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries in 1832 and in 1838 a member of the Royal College of Surgeons. He practised as a general practitioner in Greenwich but had alongside a druggist's shop, which at different times his brothers John, Joseph and Samuel all ran, before they set up in business for themselves as chemists and druggists. [105]

Roberts writes that by the end of the seventeenth century 95 per cent of the drugs imported into England entered via the port of London and were largely in the hands of the East India merchants. [106] In London they were sold to druggists who had stayed in the Grocers Company, a good example

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of which was the Bromfield family, some of whose members were apothecaries and others surgeons. [107]. These druggists then supplied the provincial apothecaries with the required drugs. Orders were sent up and the goods brought back by the carriers to apothecaries such as Henry Elliot of Exeter in 1623 and Thomas Bott of Coventry at the beginning of the next century. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the demand for drugs led to the emergence of provincial druggist wholesalers in such towns as Exeter, from where the apothecaries of the South-West were supplied. According to Roberts such wholesalers had developed from grocers and any further processing was carried out by the apothecaries.

## Geographical and numerical analysis

If a geographical and numerical analysis of the apprenticeship records be made some interesting points are brought to light. Volumes 1-5 run from October 1711 to October 1717 and on the masters side there are entries for 1,188 apothecaries, surgeons and barber-surgeons, of which no less than 774 are barber-surgeons. During the same period there are three druggists, all of whom are in London. In the next six years, that is volumes 6-9, running from November 1717 to February 1724, the picture is similar, 962 apothecaries, etc. and only five druggists, four of which are in London and one in Exeter. Although there is also a great difference in the figures between apothecaries and druggists in the volumes dealing with the country districts the proportions are not quite so exaggerated. In volumes 41-43, running from May 1710 until 1715 there are 481 apothecary, surgeon and barber-surgeon entries and four for druggists, all of which are again in Exeter. In the next five years, volumes 44-46, from April 1715 to August 1720 there are eight druggists, all in Exeter, one chemist in Bristol, an apothecary and chemist in Plymouth, and two grocers and apothecaries in Yorkshire. It was not until the 1740's and 50's that other towns are found in any number, in particular Chester, Gateshead, Nottingham, Gainsborough, Sheffield and Birmingham, that is in ports or in the newly developing towns. London and its suburbs, relative to population, have very few. just four or five druggists and two or three chemists. In fact, unless the London wholesale druggists are hiding under another name, it would seem that the great merchants of London were selling direct to the provincial wholesaling druggists.

Roberts suggests that the processing of medicinal chemicals was originally carried out by the distillers of London who as they became more specialised were known as chemists. [108]. Certainly in the first thirty years of the eighteenth century there were large numbers of distillers in London and the immediate district. In the years 1711 to 1717 there are ninety entries, plus one for a distiller and perfumer and another for a distiller and chocolate maker. In the provinces at about the same time there were only

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eight, mostly in Bristol. By 1752-6 there were only two entries for distillers in London but this was not accompanied by a parallel rise in entries for chemists, of which there were only three.

By 1793-9 the relative figures in the London volumes were 105 druggists and chemists to 432 apothecaries and surgeons, that is 25 per cent of the total; it rose to 30 per cent from March 1799 to 1804. For the country volumes the figures are even more striking; in the years 1798-1803 the number of chemists and druggists is 226 as opposed to 503 apothecaries and surgeons, or 45 per cent of the total. In the last volume the figure is a staggering 61 per cent. It should however be noted that the comparisons between the two sets of volumes cannot unfortunately be taken too far, as by this late date, the London volumes have been extensively invaded by provincial entries, to the extent that in volume 35 (1791-93) out of 23 chemists entries only ten belong to the London area. This however only adds to the general picture that a higher proportion of chemists and druggists are to be found in the provinces than in the capital. It should not be forgotten that the writs of the College of Physicians, the Company of Surgeons (which after 1745 was denuded of its coercive powers) and the Society of Apothecaries did not run outside the City of London and a seven mile radius, and, as the disciplinary gild system had by now completely collapsed this allowed the scope needed for the chemists and druggists to develop.

## Provincial training

Wall and Cameron write that in the provinces irregular practice (that is without diploma or licence) of the apothecaries was almost the rule, though no doubt some had served by private arrangement as apprentices or assistants to practitioners, themselves without any recognised licence. Perhaps one of most valuable aspects of these apprenticeship records is that they give information on how the apothecary or druggist of the provinces was trained and by whom. Some apprentice-masters might be described as miniature training schools and it should be possible to trace their influence over the county and even further. Henry Vaughan, apothecary and surgeon of Leominster was sent by his father to be trained by John Lowther, citizen and apothecary of London in 1730. He returned to his home town and there in his turn taught Robert Thomas, Thomas Griffiths, William Drake, John Goode, John Talbot, Benjamin Thomas, Richard Bara and doubtless his son James, who was to become one of the first house surgeons of Leicester (Royal) Infirmary, after taking his degree at Edinburgh.[109] Charles Yonge, surgeon of Plymouth trained Duke Yonge, James Yonge, two Robert Fortescues (possibly, from the dates of 1760 and 1787, father and son), John Kennett, Spicer Fox and Theophilus Blackall.[110] Walter Kinneir, apothecary of Highworth, Wiltshire taught Oliver Lawrence, William Fairthorne, Charles Dunn and Edward Southby but nevertheless

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sent his own son Walter to be apprenticed under William Bartholomew, apothecary and citizen of London in 1720. Walter junior presumably stayed in the capital for in 1732 Arthur Reeves and, in 1737, John de Sante were bound to a Walter Kinneir, citizen and apothecary.[111] How much of metropolitan ideas did Walter transmit back to his father? Of interest to Cambridge is a certain Trimnell. He was an apothecary of London and also a man of cultured tastes for he was a subscriber to Thomas Uvedale's *Memoirs of Philip de Commines* published in 1712. Amongst his apprentices was Robert Cor(e)y who returned to Cambridge and in his turn trained George Adams, Edward Fowler, Samuel Knowler and William Sole, the well-known botanist. Sole of course had apprentices of his own and so three generations of apprentices can be traced. [112]

The Inland Revenue registers would seem to suggest that there was greater intercourse between London and the provinces in the matter of apothecarial training than was supposed. An examination of the London company's record appears to confirm this view. In the late seventeenth century John Barnaby, apothecary of Boston, Lincolnshire sent his son, Stephen, to be apprenticed to Jenkyn Llewellin in London, as did William Scroop, apothecary of Retford, Nottinghamshire; the son of Thomas Needham, a Chesterfield apothecary was also sent by his father's executors to a member of the London Company. [113]

In the case of John Needham it is known that he never finished his time but went to Queens College, Oxford and took Holy Orders but others returned to the provinces and practised medicine and pharmacy. [114] Edward Trott, a clergyman in Northamptonshire, sent his son John to be apprenticed in London in June 1688, and after his training was finished Trott became an apothecary (or apothecary and surgeon, he was called both) in St. Neots, Huntingdonshire. He trained at least four young men and became the medical practitioner from 1702-29 for the Overseers of the Poor at both Eaton Socon and Roxton.

## Accuracy of the records

The great question arises as to the accuracy of these documents. It can reasonably be assumed that the eighteenth century was as interested in tax evasion as the twentieth. Several cases of possible attempts have been pointed out. Many more were certainly successful.

Some apothecaries are known from other sources to have had apprentices and yet they are not to be found in the records, for example, William Elmhirst of Genn House taught John Hayes, William Walker and two nephews, Richard and Robert Greaves but their indentures are not recorded. [115] Jenkinson noted how few examples he found of sons being bound to their fathers. One answer to this may well be given in the biography of John Crosse. In Ireland Crosse had wished to obtain the

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equivalent of the present fellowship of the Irish College of Surgeons, but it was alleged his training was inadequate although already a member of the Royal College of Surgeons of London. One stumbling block was that his master had no degree and, what was even worse, could produce no deed confirming his own apprenticeship. He wrote his erstwhile pupil, "Being the elder son of my father it was not necessary to be indented to him." After walking the wards of St. Bartholomews, he continued "I left London [as] my intention was to fix myself in the country. I did not pass any examinations at Surgeons Hall, nor do I remember anyone who meant to settle in the country that did so." [116]. This would be in the 1770's. As a result the record would again not be complete.

The clerks in the tax offices in their copying and re-copying have also made obvious errors, such as Norwich being in the country of Chester when they meant Northwich, or Weels, Norfolk when it must be Wells, but these are only of a minor nature.

There was one difficult problem in particular which was never satisfactorily resolved, and that was the problem of the barber-surgeon. It soon became obvious that if all apothecaries were to be abstracted then all surgeons must be too, as the terms become interchangeable. If surgeons were, then it seemed reasonable to treat their predecessors the barber-surgeons similarly. The barbers and surgeons were joined in one guild by Henry VIII but it was always an uneasy alliance and in 1745 they separated. Wall states that they were in fact always administered separately within the Company and Feltoe says that they sat at separate tables in their hall, certainly they are separately listed in the poll tax return of 1641. [117]. However even famous surgeons such as Ranby, or Cheselden, were described as barber-surgeons though commanding premiums of £300 or £400. [118]. The differences between the two groups, especially in London can usually be detected in the differences of their premiums. At one end of the scale were the Fernes and the Cheseldens and at the other the barber-surgeons who were wigmakers as well, and whose surgery probably consisted solely of phlebotomies and tooth-pulling and never of anything as complicated as a lithotomy. In the North-East, particularly in Newcastle-on-Tyne they could have a multitude of other functions as well, such as being wax and tallow chandlers, ropers and stringers. To make the problem more complex were the vagaries of the clerk. For example, Thomas Bass of Leicester is described as both barber-surgeon, and surgeon in two entries following each other. In May 1723 Timothy Forster of Newcastle was called a surgeon, and in July "a barber, etc.," the same clerk called Richard Kipling "barber-surgeon etc." and "barber etc." within the space of four months. [119]. It was not felt, however, that all the thousands of "barber etc.'s" were in fact barber-surgeons, which were also exceptionally numerous. So it was arbitrarily decided to ignore all "barber, etc." entries and assume that they were merely barbers and wigmakers. Perhaps the last word can be left to Campbell when writing his *London Tradesmen* in 1747.

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In his section on barber and peruke-makers he wrote, "As a barber he reckons himself of an old Profession, though I cannot justly settle his Chronology: With this Branch of his Trade was formerly connected that of a surgeon; and Numbers of them in London and Westminster, let Blood and draw Teeth, which I think is the only Part of Surgery they ever pretended to practise. I own I cannot understand the Connection there is between a Barber and a Surgeon, nor can I too much condemn the Folly of trusting those Bunglers to perform one of the nicest, tho' common Operations in surgery. I never saw a good Surgeon, but was under some Apprehension when he was to let Blood; yet these Fellows for Three-pence, break a Vien (sic) at random, without the least Hesitation, or the smallest Notion of the Danger of a Miscarriage. They use Lancets, which ought more properly to be termed Horse Flimes, and if they miss to prick an Artery every Time they let Blood, it is more owing to Chance than any Precaution of theirs. When we consider that such an Accident may happen to the most skilful Surgeon, and consequently that the ignorance Barber is much more liable, and is utterly incapable to remedy the Mischief when done, I apprehend it a Degree of Madness to trust them upon any consideration." [120.]

It may also be assumed that many Quaker apprenticeships were never registered. The Corporation Act of 1661 which was not repealed until 1871, meant that Quakers could not enter many of the trades in a corporate town. Raistrick quotes the example of William Stout of Lancaster, whose father had been looking for an opportunity to settle him as an apprentice, "and thereupon had come to terms with Henry Coward, grocer and ironmonger in Lancaster, to serve him as an apprentice for seven years, for which my father was to pay him £20 and to find me in all apparel during that term; which was kept private betwixt them, because the said Henry Coward, although a freeman's son, and had also served an apprenticeship to Henry Jones, a freeman, yet could not be admitted a freeman without oath, which he could not in conscience make; he being of the religious Society of people called quakers, and so would not make me free at the end of my apprenticeship, but upon an arbitary fine." [121.]

A difficult problem to resolve is the accuracy of the description of the trade, craft or profession of either the master or the apprentice's father. It is often forgotten that the members of most companies did not follow the same craft as the title by which their company was known. Frank Simpson writing in 1911 of the Barber-Surgeons' Company of Chester said, "To become a member of any one of these gilds or companies it was necessary to have first served an apprenticeship of at least seven years to a freeman of the city. In the majority of cases it is today by heritage in the male line. Therefore it is not surprising that of the Barbers, the Sadlers, the Glovers, the Skinners and Feltmakers, the Tanners, the Grocers and Ironmongers, and the Weavers, they have not a single member whose occupation is that of the trades mentioned. It is the same elsewhere. The London Taylor's Company in 1710 had, out of a livery of 485, 300 members who were not tailors." The

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situation was even more exaggerated in 1822, when "out of 300 on the livery, which is open to men of all professions, not ten were to be found amongst them who were tailors by trade." [122] The same picture can be seen in the London Grocers' Company. Their record of admissions for the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries show that amongst those who made their apprentices free were a cloth-worker, a weaver, a currier, a dyer, a fruiterer, a vintner, a joiner, a merchant-tailor, an embroiderer, a girdler and two goldsmiths. [123]

The Barber-Surgeons records show a similar scene but to a lesser degree. On 1 May 1733 four barbers, one barber-surgeon and one woollen-draper were sworn in, and in October, three barbers, one surgeon and two haberdashers were admitted. Concerning the last two the following information was given, "Edward Ledger who was apprentice of William Serles, Barber, and afterwards of Anthony Bayles, Haberdasher, was admitted into the Freedom of the Company by Service upon Testimony of the said Anthony Bayles," and "John Walker, chirurgeon, was admitted into the Freedom of the Company by Translation from the Haberdashers' Company for £6.6s.0d." [124] In the first case, Ledger had presumably started to train first of all as a barber and then changed to haberdashery; whether he would be allowed to follow both avocations is not specified. John Walker, on the other hand, seems to have trained to be a surgeon under one who may have been a member of the Haberdashers' Company rather than the Barber-Surgeons; or possibly Walker's father had been a member of the Haberdashers, so that John could have been a member of that Company by right of patrimony, as in the case of William Jenkins, who was admitted to the Barber-Surgeons on the same day, "William Jenkins, surgeons, who was the apprentice of — Glanville, Foreign Brother, and having a Right to the Freedom of London by patrimony as citizen and Draper of London was made free by Redemption for £6.6s.0d." [125]

These anomalous situations were ended by the separation of the surgeons from the barbers in 1745. The Act was quite definite that, "all members of the (old) Company not admitted and approved surgeons are to be of the Barbers' Company" and could not be admitted to the new Surgeons' Company. [126] The surgeons, like the apothecaries at an earlier date, had decided to be purely a craft gild, and thus were able ultimately to develop into a professional body. The old Barbers' Company became more and more mixed and by the 1760's entries such as the following can be seen, "3rd. June 1766, John Harvey son of James of the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark, Co. Surrey, Brushmaker puts himself apprentice to Robert Aylward of Watling Street, London, Bookbinder for 7 years."

The Society of Apothecaries had so framed its bye-laws that if the Court of Assistants did admit any one by redemption then that person had to be qualified to engage as an apothecary. By the eighteenth century the apothecaries were still so determined to remain a craft gild that freedom by redemption was restricted to those who could prove their technical qualification. [127]

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Within a craft gild a separation occurred between its two functions of trade and craft. This divergence was first apparent in the fifteenth century, by which time the twelve great livery companies of London (of which the Grocers were one) had established their dominant position, and had set themselves up as models for later and lesser incorporations. The government of such gilds lay in the hands of wardens and assistants, who held office for life, and were the wealthiest and most influential of the merchants and traders. Thus the trading interests completely dominated those of the craftsmen. [128] It is probable that this dichotomy within the Grocers encouraged the apothecaries to petition for a separate company, and having obtained it framed its laws so as to prevent the new company being taken over by rich merchants who were not apothecaries.

Whether the apothecaries allowed what Hazlitt calls "colourable bindings" is not known. Hazlitt writes that from early days (of the livery companies) purely formal bindings were allowed, that is youths were bound as a matter of form to persons whose trade they did not mean to follow, and who undertook no obligations in respect of their protection or education. On coming of age the young man could claim the freedom of the company of their nominal masters, which could be an advantage to them in after life; it also of course gave them the freedom of the City and so the right to trade within its boundaries. [129]

In 1684 Daniel Twining left the failing woollen industry of the Cotswolds and came to London. There he apprenticed his eldest son Daniel to a lace weaver, and ten years later a younger son Thomas was bound to his brother. It is thought that he never intended to take up weaving as a trade but was apprenticed in order to become a member of a Weavers' Company and so a city freeman. Twining was employed by Thomas D'Aeth of St. Giles, Cripplegate, a wealthy East India merchant, at least five months before he gained his freedom, and possibly much earlier. Similarly in the next generation Thomas's son Daniel was apprenticed to his father in the Weavers' Company on 15 January, 1727-8, although he also went into the lucrative tea and coffee business. [130]

It must have been some such explanation as this which would account for the binding of Basil, the son of Thomas Firebrass, citizen and merchant tailor to William Bumpstead, citizen and barber-surgeon in February 1715-16 for a premium of £5. [131] The Firebraces were a wealthy family who held enviable positions such as chief steward of the manor and keeper of the lodges of Enfield Chase, and could certainly afford more than £5 for an apprenticeship. [132] From this practice we can understand why such out-moded companies as the Armourers and the Long Bow-String makers still existed and even flourished. [133]

These "colourable bindings" would thus give a false picture if it were assumed that every youth who was bound intended to follow his master's trade, at least for a number of years.

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## Checking of the records

It is not easy to check the accuracy of the Inland Revenue records but the cities of Bristol and Chester possess some eighteenth century gild and burgess or freeman records which may be used to a limited degree.

## Bristol

In the Inland Revenue volumes 41 and 42, dating from May 1710 to June 1713, there are 31 Bristol entries, of which 24 are to be found in the bindings register of Bristol burgesses of approximately the same period. It is impossible to make the dates exactly coincide as the entry in Bristol for a particular apprenticeship is obviously earlier than it is in London, but for what is very nearly the same time, there are 30 entries in the Bristol book of which 21 are to be found in the London records.

Similarly in Inland Revenue volume 49, running from November 1728 to November 1729, there are 19 Bristol apprenticeships, 13 of which are in the burgesses book whilst in volume 40 of the Bristol records between September 1728 and August 1729 there are 18 bindings registered, 8 of which are not to be found in London.

According to George Parker, the whole system of burgess admission, that is by means of a seven year apprenticeship, examination, admission to the freedom of the relevant company and the city itself, had fallen into decay by about 1740. [134]. An examination of the city bindings register seems to indicate that good records were kept until at least the early 1750's but that by the 1770's they had sadly deteriorated. From June 1777 to June 1778 there are only three entries, one apothecary, Thomas Shellard (who had himself only very recently received his freedom of Bristol by the vote of the Common Council, and by paying a fine of 15 guineas), and two barber-surgeons (the old term having been kept), George Bailey and James Saunders. Only the first one is to be found in London. On the other hand London has five entries which are not listed at Bristol.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of concordance. In the case of the Bristol entries which are not to be found in the London records they belong to two main classes. Firstly, the binding of a son to his father, in which of course there was no money transaction and so no tax due; and, secondly, the consideration money was given by charity and so not subject to taxation. George Bailey's and James Saunder's apprentices, cited above, received their premiums from the charities of "The Somersetshire Society in Bristol", and the parish of Keynsham, Bristol, respectively.

Conversely it has been suggested that the London entries for Bristol apprenticeships are not be found in the city's books when the master was not himself a burgess. The binding would then of course not be entered in the burgess books. John Headington, apothecary and burgess of Bristol,

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took on a number of apprentices. On 3 May 1779 his apprentice, Samuel Williams was enrolled in the burgess book [135] but is not to be discovered in the Inland Revenue records until 2 March 1786.[136] Three months later Headington paid tax on the premium of another apprentice, Thomas Pye. This entry, however, is not to be found at Bristol. In due course (1788) Samuel Williams is to be found enrolled as a burgess but not Thomas Pye. Possibly Pye, unlike Williams, had had no intention of practising in Bristol after his training, and so it was decided unnecessary to register him with the Bristol authorities with the view to becoming a burgess like his master.

Unfortunately the records of all the Bristol gilds, except those of the Merchant Adventurers, are no longer extant and so cannot provide a further check.

## Chester

In this city the admissions and bindings of both the gilds concerned, "The Barber-Surgeons and Tallow Chandlers" and "The Mercers, Grocers, Apothecaries and Ironmongers" have survived. Unfortunately, in both cases, they rapidly deteriorate after 1720 or so, and thus can only be used to check the first ten years of the Inland Revenue records.

There are 52 Chester entries in the Inland Revenue volumes 41-48 (i.e. from May 1710 to January 1725-26), of which 35 are to be found in the Chester gild records. Out of the 17 not recorded in Chester three bindings are for women; all of them were apprentices of Henry Frodsham, barber-surgeon (or as he was styled in 1711, surgeon) and his wife Rachell, who in 1712 is specified as being a milliner. These girls may have been learning millinery, but if that were the case they were paying the surprisingly high sums of £14 to £20 for a three year apprenticeship. In any case the Barber-Surgeons' gild does not appear to have been interested in them. Frodsham's own apprentice, Thomas Cotton — this time Rachell's name does not appear as co-apprentice-master — is certainly recorded in the gild book on 24 June 1720. The period of service was seven years but the premium was still only £20.

Conversely, out of the 59 bindings (38 barber-surgeons, 21 apothecaries) enrolled in the gild books of the two companies from April 1710 to May 1726, 38 are to be found in the Inland Revenue records (22 barber-surgeons, 16 apothecaries). Of the missing 21, two appear to be of close family relationships and so possibly no money was involved. The gild records do not give the source of the consideration money but it is likely that a fair proportion was derived from charities and so would bear no tax, consequently not appearing in the Inland Revenue registers.

After the mid 1720's the two gilds kept their records so sporadically that they are valueless for purposes of checking, indeed in the case of the Ironmongers, Mercers, Apothecaries and Grocers there are no records after

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1737 except for the three entries of 1751, 1753 and 1888. From 1690 onwards it became progressively commoner for the clerk to not specify whether the master were an ironmonger, apothecary or mercer; in spite of the title of the gild, grocers appear but infrequently. Only by the use of the tax records, internal evidence and the Chester rolls of freemen can their actual trade often be determined. There is even less precision in the Barber-Surgeons and Tallow Chandlers and is worse confounded by the fact that the clerk made little attempt to distinguish a barber-surgeon from a barber and wigmaker, or a plain barber. In July 1707 Thomas Moulson is referred to as a barber and wigmaker when John Brandrid (also Brandrett, later called a barber in the freemens' rolls and a barber-surgeon in the tax registers) was bound to him, but when another apprentice of his, Richard Ley, was made a freeman of Chester in 1710, Moulson was stated to be a barber-surgeon. Similarly, the gild records first of all call Thomas Holland a barber-surgeon (as does the Inland Revenue register, volume 42) but at a later date term him a barber and periwigmaker). At the other end of the scale Charles Warmingham and John Wilkinson are variously referred to as barber-surgeons or surgeons. In the confusion which reigns with the barber-surgeons perhaps the final comment may be given by the Chester Rolls of Freemen on 2 September 1732, when the freedom was granted to "Thomas Sampson of Middlewich, surgeon, son and prentice of Thomas Sampson of Chester, periwigmaker, deceased." [137].

A third set of records at Chester may be consulted, the registrations of apprenticeships, which were kept by the civic authorities. Unlike the burgess records of Bristol these are very slight, they do, however, fill in a few gaps. Three bindings to be found in London but not in the gild books, are in these city records, namely one apothecary and two barber-surgeons, or rather barber-surgeons and periwigmakers as this clerk calls them in all cases. One which is not registered in the Inland Revenue volumes is to be found both here and in the gild book — not surprisingly a close family relationship, probably nephew to uncle. Occasionally the apprenticeship is found in all three sets of records, the city rolls, the gild books and the tax registers, but in three cases the binding appears nowhere else other than in the city records, for example, that of Lewis Bruen the younger of Hawarden, Flint in 1718 to Thomas Vincent, surgeon.[138].

## Conclusion

Despite all discrepancies. the actual numbers recorded in both Bristol and Chester are remarkably similar to those found in London. On balance it can probably be justifiably concluded that the Inland Revenue records are reasonably accurate and can give us a useful picture of certain aspects of the eighteenth century: indeed it would seem they are by far the most complete record that we possess for the last half of the century.

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The extraction of this material from the Inland Revenue registers has been an enjoyable task though admittedly at times exceedingly tedious. The tedium, however, was lightened by meeting old friends such as Silvanus Bevan, citizen and apothecary in 1716 and James Sherrard, citizen and apothecary in the same year, or Luke Howard's apprenticeship with Ollive Sims, chymist of Stockport in 1788.[139] Perhaps best of all was the entry telling us that Edward Jenner was bound on 1 August 1764 to George Hardwick, apothecary of Chipping Sodbury.[140]

Or there was the triumph of finding out with whom Edmund Withering(s), the father of William Withering of digitalis fame, was apprenticed, although Peck and Wilkinson wrote it was not known who administered Edmund's estate or educated him after his mother's re-marriage in 1720. The apprenticeship records tell us that on 29 September 1730, Edmond son of William Withers (sic) of Ye Hill, Salop was bound to George Hector, surgeon of Lillishall Lodge, Salop for five years and a premium of £100.[141] In his turn Edmund had as apprentices, besides his famous son, Richard Inge, Benjamin Hector, William Butter and Fenton Griffeths.

A study of a series of documents, such as these apprenticeship records, gives valuable information concerning the background and development of pharmacy and medicine; they can also provide a starting point for those close and detailed examinations of pharmaceutical and medical men, families and dynasties which are essential to the elucidation of a history which is peculiar to Britain.

**Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Mr Gilbert H. Parry, a former President of the Freemen and Guilds of the City of Chester for allowing me to examine the records of the Mercers, Ironmongers, Grocers and Apothecaries Company, and also Mr Martin Roberts in connection with the Surgeons, Wax and Tallow Chandlers. This work would have been impossible but for the help of Miss Barbara Fenwick of Cwmbran who has spent many hours extracting the material and typing the results.

NOTES FOR USE WITH THE FOLLOWING TABLES.

*The "etc" does not in all cases refer to a Chemist, Wigmaker or Tallow-Chandler but to more unusual combinations such as a tea-dealer or a wine and spirit merchant. In the records "Barbers etc" (presumably Barbers and Peruke or Perriwigmakers) are separately recorded and occur in enormous numbers.

*Note:* it is impossible to make an exact match between the two sets of volumes in mid-century as entries are missing between 29 December 1749 and 25 April 1752 (i.e. between Volumes 18 and 19) and from December 1745 to October 1750 (between Volumes 50 and 51).

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF THE LONDON INLAND REVENUE VOLUMES

| | Vols 1-5<br>1 Oct 1711 to<br>Oct 1717 | Vols 6-8<br>4 Nov 1717 to<br>Sept 1721 | Vols 17-18<br>14 June 1743 to<br>29 Dec 1749 | Vol 19<br>April 1752 to<br>July 1754 | Vols 20-21<br>July 1754 to<br>11 April 1759 | Vols 36-37<br>22 June 1793<br>to 9 March 1799 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apothecaries | 323 | 249 | 270 | 79 | 156 | 65 |
| Apothecaries etc | — | — | 11 | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| Apoths & Chemists | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Apoths & Grocers | 1 | and apothecary 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Barber-Surgeons | 774<br>and wigmakers 3 | 374 | 59 | — | 1 | — |
| Barber-Surgeons etc. | 2 | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| Barber-Surgeons & Wigmakers | and musician 1<br>— | and dentist 1<br>1 | — | — | — | — |
| Barber-Surgeons Waxmakers and Ropers & Stringers | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Barber-Surgeons Wax & Tallow (& Wig) makers | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Chemists | and apothecary 2<br>— | 1 | and surgeon 1<br>3 | — | 3 | and druggist 1<br>40 |
| Chemists etc | — | — | 2 | — | 1 | 23 |
| Distillers | 90 | 76 | 58 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| Doctors in Physic & Surgery | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Doctors or Practitioners of Physick | and grocer 1 | and grocer 1 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Druggists | 1 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 6 | 39 |
| Druggists etc.* | Drug merchant 1<br>— | — | 3 | — | 4 | 2 |
| Members of Corporation of Surgeons | An M.D. 1 | — | — | — | — | 36 |
| Physicians | 1 | 3 | — | — | — | — |
| Physicians etc | — | — | — | — | 1 | and dentist 1 |
| Surgeons | 74 | 85 | 138<br>and anatomist 1 | 89 | 172 | 226 |
| Surgeons etc | 1 | — | 215 | 23 | 10 | 102 |
| Surgeons and apothecaries | and bone-setters 2<br>8 | 13 | 3 | — | 1 | — |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF THE COUNTRY INLAND REVENUE VOLUMES

| | Vols 41-44<br>May 1710 to<br>2 May 1717 | Vols 45-46<br>7 May 1717 to<br>14 Feb 1720/1 | Vol 50<br>24 Apr. 1741 to<br>14 Dec 1745 | Vol 51<br>16 Oct 1750 to<br>2 Aug 1754 | Vol 52<br>6 Aug 1754 to<br>7 Apr 1757 | Vols 67-68<br>27 Oct 1793 to<br>15 June 1798 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apothecaries | and Merchant 1<br>270 | and Merchant 1<br>179 | 196 | 122 | 89 | 35 |
| Apothecaries etc | — | — | 11 | 6 | 2 | 3 |
| Apoths & Chemists | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Apoths & Grocers | 1 | 3 | — | — | — | — |
| Barber-Surgeons | and whipmaker 1<br>157 | 113 | 20 | 12 | 3 | 2 |
| Barber-Surgeons etc. | 31 | 13 | 9 | 3 | — | 1 |
| Barber-Surgeons & Wigmakers | 23 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Barber-Surgeons Waxmakers Ropers & Stringers | 7 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Barber-Surgeons Wax & Tallow & (Wig) makers | 18 | — | — | — | — | — |
| Chemists | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | and druggist 4<br>21 |
| Chemists etc. | — | — | 1 | — | — | 55 |
| Distillers | 10 | 5 | 12 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| Doctors in Physick & Surgery | 2 | — | 1 | — | — | 3 |
| Doctors or Practitioners of Physick | and apothecary 1<br>8 | and apothecary 1<br>— | — | — | — | 1 |
| Druggists | 5 | and apothecary 1<br>6 | 7 | 9 | and apothecary 1<br>8 | 53 |
| Druggists etc* | — | — | 2 | 2 | — | 32 |
| Members of Corporation of Surgeons | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Physicians | an M.D. 1 | and Surgeon 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Physicians etc. | 1 | 1 | — | — | — | 1 |
| Surgeons | 110 | 89 | and pharmacist 1<br>103 | and doctor 1<br>153 | 106 | 103 |
| Surgeons etc. | — | — | 138 | 26 | 12 | 226 |
| Surgeons & Apothecaries | 17 | 16 | 2 | — | 5 | 3 |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF PREMIUMS

## VOL. I. 1st OCTOBER 1711 — NOVEMBER 1712

| APPRENTICE MASTERS | Under £10 | Under £20 | Under £30 | Under £40 | Under £50 | Under £70 | Under £100 | Under £150 | Under £200 | Under £250 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Barber- Surgeons | 68 | 72 | 22 | 5 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Apothecaries | | | 6 | 9 | 14 | 26 | 2 | and Chemist 1 | | |
| Apoths. & Surgeons | | | | | | 2 | | | | |
| Practitioners in Physick & Surgery | | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| M.D.s | | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| Distillers | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | | |
| Surgeons | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | | | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF PREMIUMS

## VOL. 38. MARCH 1799 — APRIL 1802

| APPRENTICE MASTERS | Under £20 | Under £50 | Under £100 | Under £150 | Under £200 | Under £250 | Under £300 | Under £350 | Under £400 | Under £450 | Under £650 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Surgeons | | 5 | 14 | 15 | 7 | 9 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Surgeons, etc. | 3 | 15 | 24 | 33 | 11 | 17 | 1 | | | | |
| Apothecaries | 3 | 1 | 6 | 12 | 4 | 3 | | 3 | 1 | 2 | |
| Apothecaries, etc. | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Druggists | 2 | 9 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | | | |
| Druggists, etc. | | | 2 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | |
| Chemists | | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | | | | | | |
| Chemists, etc. | | | 6 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | |
| M.R.C.S.s. | | | 1 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | 1 |
| Doctors | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Surgeons & Apoths. | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Chemists & Druggists | | | 2 | 3 | | | | | | | |
| Doctors of Physick, etc. | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF PREMIUMS

## VOL. 40 NOVEMBER 1804 — NOVEMBER 1810

| APPRENTICE MASTERS | No Charge | Under £20 | Under £50 | Under £100 | Under £150 | Under £200 | Under £250 | Under £300 | Under £350 | Under £400 | Under £450 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | and Druggist 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| Apothecaries | 14 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 1 | 4 | | 2 |
| Druggists & Grocers | | | 3 | 2 | 1 | | 1 | | | | |
| Surgeons, etc. | 8 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 11 | 6 | 5 | | 1 | | |
| Surgeons | 1 | 1 | 4 | 6 | | | 2 | | 1 | | |
| M.R.C.S.s | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Chemists | | | | 1 | | | | | | | |
| Chemists & Druggists | 5 | | 3 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | | |
| Surgns. & Apoths. & Man-Midwives | 5 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 15 | 3 | 2 | | | | |
| Chemists, etc. | 1 | | | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | | | | |
| Surgeons & Midwives | 1 | | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| Surgeons, Man-Midwives & Dentists | | | 1 | | | | | | | | |
| Druggists & Printers | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Druggists, etc. | | | | | 1 | | 1 | | | | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF PREMIUMS

## VOL. 41 MAY 1710 — JANUARY 1711-12

| APPRENTICE MASTERS | Under £10 | Under £20 | Under £30 | Under £40 | Under £50 and Grocer 1 | Under £75 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Apothecaries | | 1 | 6 | 11 | 19 | 19 |
| Surgeons | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 10 |
| Barber-Surgeons | 8 | 14 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Barber-Surgeons & Perriwig Makers | | 5 | | | | |
| Surgeons & Apoths. | | | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| Barber-Surgeons, Ropers & Stringers & Waxmakers | 3 | 6 | | 3 | | |
| Distillers | | | | 1 | | |
| Drs. of Physick & Surgery | | | | | 1 | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF PREMIUMS

## VOL: 71. MAY 1803 — SEPTEMBER 1805

| APPRENTICE MASTERS | Under £20 | Under £50 | Under £100 | Under £150 | Under £200 | Under £250 | Under £300 | Under £350 | Under £400 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Surgeons, etc. | 13 | 37 | 27 | 44 | 23 | 12 | 2 | 2 | |
| Surgeons | 1 | 1 | 5 | 6 | 1 | | | | |
| Surgeons & Apothecaries | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | | | |
| Apothecaries | | 1 | 1 | 4 | | | | | |
| Apothecaries, etc. | 1 | 1 | 5 | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| Chymists, etc. | 5 | 13 | 15 | 16 | 4 | 2 | | | |
| Chemists | | | 1 | 1 | | | | | |
| Chemists & Druggists | | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | | |
| Druggists, etc. | 1 | 11 | 7 | 4 | 3 | | | | |
| Druggists | 2 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 2 | | | | |
| Doctors, etc. | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# ANALYSIS OF PREMIUMS

## VOL. 72. MAY 1804 — SEPTEMBER 1808

| APPRENTICE MASTERS | No Charge | Under £20 | Under £50 | Under £100 | Under £150 | Under £200 | Under £250 | Under £300 | Under £350 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Surgeons, etc. | 1 | 2 | 2 | 11 and Chemist 1 | 5 | 4 | 1 | | 2 |
| Surgeons | 1 | | 2 | 4 | 3 | | 1 | | |
| Surgeons & Apothecaries | 2 | 4 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 1 | | |
| Surgns., Apoths. & Druggists | | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Surgns. & Apoths. & Midwives | | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | | | |
| Chemists, etc. | | | | 4 | 3 | | | | |
| Chemists & Druggists | | ? | 2 | 7 | 6 | | | | |
| Druggists | and Grocer 1 | 4 | and Grocer 1 3 | 3 | 4 | 2 | | | |
| Druggists, etc. | | | 2 | 2 | | | | | |
| Drs. of Physick & Surgeons | | | 1 | | | | | | |
| Practitioners of Medicine & Pharmacy | | | | | 1 | | | | |
| Apothecaries | | 1 | | and Druggist 1 | 1 | | | | |

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# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

| | *Druggists* | | *Druggists, etc.* | *Chemists* | | *Chemists, etc.* | *Chemists & Druggists* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Vol. 1* | | | | | | | |
| 1 Oct. 1711 — | London | 1 | | | | | |
| 15 Nov. 1712 | London (Drugster) | 1 | | | | | |
| *Vol. 2* | | | | | | | |
| 17 Nov. 1712 — | None | | | | | | |
| April, 1714 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 3* | | | | | | | |
| 12 April 1714 — | None | | | | | | |
| 30 April 1715 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 4* | | | | | | | |
| 2 May 1715 — | London (Drugster) | 1 | | | | | |
| 2 Aug. 1716 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 5* | | | | | | | |
| 6 Aug. 1716 — | St. Martins in Ye | | | ? London | 1 | | |
| October 1717 | Fields | 1 | | Dedham, Essex | 1 | | |
| | St. Martins in Ye Fields (Drug Merchant) | 1 | | (and Apothecary) | | | |
| *Vol. 6* | | | | | | | |
| 4 Nov. 1717 — | London | 3 | | | | | |
| 22 June 1719 | Stepney (Druggist & Grocer) | 1 | | | | | |
| *Vol. 7* | None | | | | | | |
| 22 June 1719 — | | | | | | | |
| 3 Sept. 1720 | | | | | | | |

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# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

| | *Druggists* | *Druggists, etc.* | *Chemists* | *Chemists, etc.* | *Chemists & Druggists* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Vol. 8* | | | | | |
| 7 Sept. 1720 — Sept. 1721 | None | | | | |
| *Vol. 17* | | | | | |
| 14 June 1743 — 8 Sept. 1746 | Halifax 1<br>Milton, Kent 1<br>Birmingham 1 | Holborn 1 | | Westminster (St. James) 1<br>Westminster (Chem. & Surgeon) 1 | |
| *Vol. 18* | | | | | |
| 3 Nov. 1746 — 29 Dec. 1749 | Sheffield 1<br>Exeter 1<br>Hull 1 | Leicester 1<br>Whitechapel 1 | Clerkenwell 1<br>St. Martins in the Fields 1<br>Kingston-u-Thames 1 | Covent Garden 1 | |
| *Vol. 19* | | | | | |
| 1752 — 1754 | Sheffield 1<br>East Smithfield 1<br>St. Clements, Middx. 1 | | | | |
| *Vol. 20* | | | | | |
| 1754 — 1756 | Cit., London 1<br>St. Bartholomews 1<br>Leadenhall St. 1<br>St. Pauls, Covent Garden 1<br>Sheffield 2<br>Hereford 1 | Hereford 1 | St. Giles, Middx. 1<br>St. Clement Danes 1<br>St. Martins in the Fields 1 | | |

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# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

| | *Druggists* | | *Druggists, etc.* | | *Chemists* | | *Chemists, etc.* | | *Chemists & Druggists* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Vol. 21* | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1756 — | Sheffield | 2 | Birmingham | 1 | | | | | | |
| 1759 | | | Sheffield | 1 | St. Botolph, Aldgate | 1 | | | | |
| *Vol. 36* | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 June 1793 — | New Sarum | 1 | City of London | 1 | Strand, Middx. | 1 | Wolverhampton | 1 | Southampton | 1 |
| 11 Feb. 1796 | Manchester | 2 | | | Whitechapel | 1 | London | 1 | | |
| | Woburn | 1 | | | Long Acre, Middx. | 1 | Wisbech St. Peters | 1 | | |
| | Hull | 2 | | | Holborn | 1 | Bath | 2 | | |
| | Hereford | 1 | | | Covent Garden | 1 | Leeds | 2 | | |
| | Sheffield | 2 | | | Darlington | 1 | Stockport | 1 | | |
| | Barnsley | 1 | | | Southampton | 1 | | | | |
| | Darlington | 1 | | | Bath | 1 | | | | |
| | Liverpool | 1 | | | Bolton | 1 | | | | |
| | Leeds | 1 | | | Oxford | 1 | | | | |
| | Wolverhampton | 1 | | | Wisbech St Peters. | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Nantwich | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Haymarket, Middx. | 2 | | | | |
| | | | | | Hull | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Northampton | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Devizes | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Stockport | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Clerkenwell | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | New Sleaford | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | St. George's Middx. | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Halifax | 1 | | | | |
| | | | | | Coventry | 2 | | | | |

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# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

| | *Druggists* | | *Druggists, etc.* | | *Chemists* | | *Chemists, etc.* | | *Chemists & Druggists* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Vol. 37* | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 Feb. 1796 — | Gainsborough | 2 | Cheapside, London | 1 | Long Acre, Middx. | 2 | Covent Garden | 2 | |
| 9 Feb. 1799 | Sheffield | 5 | Covent Garden | 1 | St. Martins, Middx. | 1 | London | 3 | |
| | Macclesfield | 1 | | | Manchester | 3 | Beverley | 1 | |
| | Stockport | 1 | | | Chesterfield | 1 | Newcastle-u-Tyne | 1 | |
| | New Sarum | 2 | | | Bath | 1 | Cambridge | 1 | |
| | Taunton | 1 | | | Piccadilly, Middx. | 1 | Halifax | 1 | |
| | St. Albans | 1 | | | St. George in East Middx. | 1 | Newbury | 1 | |
| | Blandford Forum | 1 | | | St. Martin le Grand | 1 | Holborn | 1 | |
| | Honiton | 1 | | | Strand, Middx. | 1 | Wellington, Som. | 1 | |
| | Nottingham | 1 | | | Haymarket, Middx. | 1 | Piccadilly, Middx. | 1 | |
| | Ripon | 1 | | | Basingstoke | 1 | Spalding | 1 | |
| | Stamford | 1 | | | Stockport | 1 | Launceston | 1 | |
| | St. Clement Danes, Middx. | 1 | | | Leeds | 1 | | | |
| | St. Lukes, Middx. | 1 | | | St. Giles, London | 1 | | | |
| | Skipton | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Liverpool | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Whitechapel | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | London | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Maidstone | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Leeds | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Carmarthen | 1 | | | | | | | |

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# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

| | *Druggists* | | *Druggists, etc.* | | *Chemists* | | *Chemists, etc.* | | *Chemists & Druggists* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Vol. 41* | | | | | | | | | |
| May 1710 — | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan. 1711-12 | None | | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 42* | | | | | | | | | |
| Jan. 1711-12 — | | | | | | | | | |
| June 1713 | Exeter | 2 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 43* | | | | | | | | | |
| July 1713 — | | | | | | | | | |
| April 1715 | Exeter | 2 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 44* | | | | | | | | | |
| April 1715 — | | | | | | | | | |
| May 1717 | Exeter | 2 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 45* | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 May 1717 — | Exeter | 2 | | | | | | | |
| May 1719 | York (Grocer & Apoth.) | 1 | | | Bristol | 1 | | | |
| *Vol. 46* | | | | | | | | | |
| May 1719 — | Exeter | 4 | | | Plymouth (Apoth. & Chemist) | 1 | | | |
| 14 Feb. 1720-21 | Wakefield (Grocer & Apoth.) | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Pontefract (Merchant Adventurer & Apoth.) | 1 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 50* | | | | | | | | | |
| 1741-1745 | Gateshead | 1 | Gateshead | 1 | | | Gainsborough | 1 | |
| | Chester | 1 | Birmingham | 1 | | | | | |
| | Exeter | 3 | | | | | | | |
| | Nottingham | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Reading | 1 | | | | | | | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

| | *Druggists* | | *Druggists, etc.* | | *Chemists* | | *Chemists, etc.* | | *Chemists & Druggists* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Vol. 51* | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 Oct. 1750 — | Exeter | 5 | Birmingham | 1 | Norwich | 1 | | | |
| 2 Aug. 1754 | Birmingham | 2 | Bristol | 1 | | | | | |
| | York | 2 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 52* | | | | | | | | | |
| Aug. 1754 — | New Sarum | 1 | New Sarum | 1 | | | | | |
| 1757 | Exeter | 2 | (Druggist & Apoth.) | | | | | | |
| | Derby | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Chester | 2 | | | | | | | |
| | Birmingham | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Liverpool | 1 | | | | | | | |
| *Vol. 67* | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 Oct. 1793 — | Bridgewater | 1 | Coventry | 1 | Kings Lynn | 1 | Bristol | 2 | |
| 13 Feb. 1796 | Tiverton | 2 | London | 1 | Newcastle-u-Tyne | 1 | Hull | 1 | |
| | Shrewsbury | 2 | South Brent | 1 | Lincoln | 1 | York | 2 | |
| | Gainsborough | 1 | Kidderminster | 1 | Boston | 1 | Beverley | 1 | |
| | Exeter | 3 | Newcastle-u-Tyne | 1 | Beccles | 1 | Carmarthen | 1 | |
| | Norwich | 1 | Norwich | 1 | Nottingham | 1 | Manchester | 1 | |
| | Nottingham | 1 | Birmingham | 1 | Newark on Trent | 1 | Whitby | 1 | |
| | East Retford | 1 | Cardiff | 1 | Worksop | 1 | Chesterfield | 1 | |
| | Gt. Driffield | 1 | Stourbridge | 1 | York | 2 | Gt. Torrington | 1 | |
| | Warrington | 1 | Tamworth | 1 | Ipswich | 1 | Canterbury | 2 | |
| | Hull | 2 | Devizes | 1 | Norwich | 1 | Stamford | 1 | |
| | Bristol | 1 | Bromsgrove | 1 | Leicester | 1 | Caistor, Lincs. | 1 | |
| | Birmingham | 1 | Bristol | 1 | Bristol | 1 | Coventry | 3 | |
| | Worcester | 1 | Northampton | 1 | Birmingham | 1 | Newcastle-u-Tyne | 2 | |
| | Liverpool | 7 | | | Northampton | 1 | Boston | 1 | |
| | Andover | 1 | | | | | Newark | 1 | |
| | Hereford | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Thetford | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Doncaster | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Chester | 1 | | | | | | | |
| | Wolverhampton | 1 | | | | | | | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS

| | *Druggists* | | *Druggists, etc.* | | *Chemists* | | *Chemists, etc.* | | *Chemists & Druggists* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Vol. 68* | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 Feb. 1796 — | Exeter | 2 | Exeter | 3 | Chesterfield | 1 | Bury St. Edmunds | 1 | Norwich | 1 |
| June, 1798 | Nottingham | 1 | Leeds | 1 | Evesham | 1 | Norwich | 2 | Coventry | 1 |
| | Newcastle-u-Lyme | 1 | Wakefield | 1 | Lincoln | 1 | Kidderminster | 1 | Bridgenorth | 1 |
| | Uttoxeter | 1 | York | 3 | Melton Mowbray | 1 | Lincoln | 3 | Lincolnshire | 1 |
| | Liverpool | 2 | Hull | 1 | York | 1 | Grantham | 1 | | |
| | Chester | 1 | Birmingham | 2 | | | Exeter | 1 | | |
| | Scarborough | 1 | Honiton | 1 | | | Doncaster | 1 | | |
| | Warwick | 1 | Stratford on Avon | 1 | | | Bristol | 2 | | |
| | Hull | 2 | Cambridge | 1 | | | Newcastle-u-Tyne | 2 | | |
| | York | 1 | Liverpool | 1 | | | Barnstaple | 2 | | |
| | Birmingham | 1 | Chester | 2 | | | Kendal | 1 | | |
| | Worcester | 1 | Leicester | 3 | | | King's Lynn | 1 | | |
| | Lichfield | 1 | | | | | Plymouth | 1 | | |
| | Wolverhampton | 1 | | | | | Bradford, Yorks. | 1 | | |
| | Louth | 1 | | | | | Newbury | 1 | | |
| | Shrewsbury | 1 | | | | | York | 2 | | |
| | Leicester | 1 | | | | | New Malton | 1 | | |
| | Hereford | 1 | | | | | Stamford | 1 | | |
| | Bewdley | 1 | | | | | Leicester | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | | Coventry | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | | Wolverhampton | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | | Hull | 2 | | |
| | | | | | | | Beverley | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | | Bedford | 1 | | |
| | | | | | | | Huntingdon | 1 | | |

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

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19. I.R./1/2, pp. 149 & 150.
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21. L.A. Clarkson, Op. cit., p.38.
22. I.R./1/2, p.76.
23. J.B. Firth. *Highways and Byways of Leicestershire.* 1926, London. p.191.
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25. M.D. George. *London Life in the Eighteenth Century.* 1930, London. p.162. Quoted in *A History of London Life.* R.J. Mitchell & M.D.R. Leys. 1958, London. p.149.
26. Trevelyn, *Op.cit.,* pp.362 & 178.
27. I.R/1/2, p.131. 30 October 1713. Thomas Milward of Stourbridge, Worces., Gent., took as apprentice John, son of Edward Ingram, late of Co. Worcs. Gent., for 4 years as from 24 June last, at a premium of £84. Articles were signed.
28. I.R/1/44, p.137. Edward Bennett, apothecary of Gloucester made articles of agreement with another apothecary, William Arnold of Cheltenham, for the training of his son John on 16 April 1716.
29. C.H. Jenkinson. *Op.cit.,* Introduction, p.x.
30. R. Campbell. *The London Tradesman.* 1747, London. p.264.
31. I.R/1/9, p.76; I.R/1/20, p.62.
32. I.R/1/13, p.149; I.R/1/12, p.4.
33. R. Campbell *Op.cit.,* p.274.
34. C.H. Jenkinson. *Op.cit.,* Introduction, p.xiv.
35. L.A. Clarkson, *Op.cit.,* p.170.
36. I.R/1/49, p.99 (1728-9); I.R/1/62, p.164 (1783).


https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

37. I.R/1/43, p.94 (1713).
38. I.R/1/41, p.129; I.R/1/44, p.10.
39. I.R/1/2, p.136.
40. I.R/1/3, p.3.
41. I.R/1/39, p.105.
42. I.R/1/1, p.47; I.R/1/2, p.13.
43. I.R/1/2, p.59.
44. Lipson, Op.cit., pp. 34-5.
45. *Stamford Mercury,* Vol. XI, No.22, 22 May, 1718, p.264.
46. W. Carew Hazlitt. *The Livery Companies of the City of London.* 1892. London. p.76.
47. I.R/1/3, p.82; I.R/1/1, p.5.
48. I.R/1/1, p.2; I.R/1/4, p.196.
49. I.R/1/4, p.145.
50. Margaret C. Barnet. *"The Barber-Surgeons of York". Med. Hist.,* 1968, 12, 27.
51. I.R/1/43, p.134
52. Lipson, *Op.cit.,* p.52.
53. I.R/1/48, p. 85.
54. I.R/1/48, p. 105.
55. I.R/1/40, p. 71.
56. I.R/1/40, p. 126.
57. I.R/1/12, pp. 207 & 208; I.R/1/4, pp. 188 & 190; I.R/1/9, pp. 122, 129 192 & 201.
58. I.R/1/8, p. 178; I.R/1/10, pp. 91 & 92.
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61. I.R/1/48, p.3, 8 March 1722-23.
62. I.R/1/13, p.13; I.R/1/50, p.104.
63. Frank Simpson. *Chester City Guilds The Barber-Surgeons' and Tallow Chandlers' Company.* 1911. p. 25.
64. I.R/1/4, p.135; I.R/1/50, p. 309.
65. *The Sturton Letters.* Unpublished. Copies are in the author's possession.
66. I.R/1/44, pp. 79 & 80; I.R/1/45, p.36.
67. I.R/1/4, p. 191.
68. I.R/1/1, pp. 77 & 47.
69. I.R/1/9, p.120.
70. Rough Court Minutes, Apothecaries' Society, 10 November 1679, p. 250.
71. Bristol Burgess Book, Vol. 40, pp. 92 & 173.
72. I.R/1/1, p. 105.
73. I.R/1/1, pp. 91 & 93; I.R/1/12, pp. 197 & 101.
74. I.R/1/38, p. 109. Astley Paston Cooper even received sums of £735 (I.R/1/39, pp. 64 & 92) and had himself paid £535 (I.R/1/32, p. 121) to his uncle William Cooper in 1784.
75. I.R/1/71, p. 15.
76. I.R/1/38, p. 217; I.R/1/39, p. 87.
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80. I.R/1/43, pp. 69 & 139.
81. I.R/1/21, p. 158; I.R/1/24, p. 204; I.R/1/32, p. 122; I.R/1/34, p. 102; I.R/1/26, p. 47; I.R/1/28, p. 216; I.R/1/30, p. 157.
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92. I.R/1/39, p. 157; I.R/1/1, p.36.
93. I.R/1/1, pp. 39 & 18.
94. I.R/1/50, p.243.
95. Harold Armitage. *Chantreyland.* 1910. London. p. 170.
96. T.W. Peck & K. Wilkinson. *William Withering of Birmingham.* Bristol, 1950. p.31. "Just as a tinker-soldier or a sailor-ploughboy is impossible, so a gentleman-apothecary is unthinkable."
97. I.R/1/50, pp. 10 & 9; I.R/1/71, p. 181.
98. S.W.F. Holloway, *Op.cit.,* p. 311.
99. I.R/1/30, p. 63; I.R/1/33, p. 86.
100. G.M. Watson. *"Some Eighteenth Century Trading Accounts". The Evolution of Pharmacy in Britain.* F.N.L. Poynter, Ed. 1965. pp. 45-79.
101. I.R/1/24, p. 8; I.R/1/25, p. 137; I.R/1/28, p.14; I.R/1/32, p. 55.
102. Grocers seemed to be most frequently combined with the trade of mercers or, rather surprisingly, with drapers.
103. I.R/1/26, p. 75; I.R/1/28, p. 81; I.R/1/30, p. 63.
104. I.R/1/72, pp. 3 & 53.
105. *The Sturton Letters.*
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108. R.S. Roberts, *Op.cit.,* p. 172.
109. I.R/1/12, p. 28; I.R/1/16, p. 93; I.R/1/59, p. 97; I.R/1/20, p.93; I.R/1/25, p. 46; I.R/1/24, p.18; I.R/1/53, p. 134; I.R/1/26, p.100.
110. I.R/1/56, p.187; I.R/1/55, p.134; I.R/1/54, p.15; I.R/1/64, p.41; I.R/1/54, p. ; I.R/1/61, p.34; I.R/1/62, p.181.
111. I.R/1/1, p.151; I.R/1/7, p.22; I.R/1/12, p.174; I.R/1/13, p.184; I.R/1/7, p. 105; I.R/1/13 p. 105; I.R/1/15, p.58.
112. I.R/1/8, p.179; I.R/1/57, p. 191; I.R/1/56, p.1; I.R/1/24, p.14; I.R/1/53, p. 76; I.R/1/33, p.92; I.R/1/28, p. 123.
113. Court Minutes of the Society of Apothecaries 1651-1680 & 1680-1695 Barnaby, 1 Feb. 1680-1; p. 20 Scroop, 1 July 1690; Needham, I Oct. 1678. 240R.
114. Op.cit., *Some Derbyshire Apothecaries.*
115. Edward Elmhirst, *Op.cit.,* pp. 77-85.
116. V. Mary Crosse, *Op.cit.,* p. 65.
117. *Memorials of J.F. South.* Collected by C.L. Feltoe. 1884. London. p. 193.
118. I.R/1/10, p. 140; I.R/1/15, p. 132.
119. I.R/1/45, p. 124; I.R/1/48, pp. 23-24.
120. R. Campbell, Op.cit., pp. 204-5.
121. A. Raistrick. *Quakers in Science and Industry.* 1968. Newton Abbot. p. 37.
122. Frank Simpson, *Op.cit.,* p. 5.
123. A particularly interesting admission to the Grocers Company occurred on 2 March 1694-5, when Thomas North(l)ey, apothecary, is stated to have made his late apprentice free of the Grocers Company; yet only four years previously Nevill Scroop of Retford was bound to Thomas Northey, a member of the Society of Apothecaries for 8 years.

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

124. Barber-Surgeons Company Records. Admissions. pp. 5 & 8.
125. A foreign brother was one whose apprenticeship had not been served with a freeman of of the company, and who probably practised by virtue of a licence granted by the Bishop of London or Dean of St. Pauls.
126. Cecil Wall. *History of the Company of Surgeons,* 1745-1800. p.47-8.
127. Wall & Cameron, *Op.cit.,* p. 326.
128. Op.cit., L.A. Clarkson, p. 186 e.g. London Company of Leathersellers.
129. W. Hazlitt Carew, *Op.cit.,* p. 76.
130. Stephen H. Twining. *The House of Twining.* 1956. London. pp. 2 & 23.
131. I.R/1/4, p.144.
132. W. Robinson. *History of Enfield.* Vol. 1, 1821. p. 215.
133. I.R/1/2, p.22. 10 January 1712 Samuel Scott, citizen and bow-string maker received consideration money of £50 from Joseph Ellis, gentleman of Chiswick for the apprenticeship of his son Benjamin.
134. George Parker. *List of Medical Men in Bristol* Introduction, p.1.
135. Bristol Burgesses Book, Vol. 41. p. 91.
136. I.R/1/63, pp. 184 & 217.
137. *Chester Rolls of Freemen.* J.H.E. Bennett, Ed. 1906. Record Society.
138. M/AP//B1. f. 32v. Chester. R.O.
139. I.R/1/4, pp. 210 & 206; I.R/1/33, p. 189.
140. I.R/1/55, p. 112.
141. I.R/1/49, p. 248.

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

# SOME EMINENT CAMBRIDGE APOTHECARIES

*By T D Whittet and M Newbold*

Cambridge is essentially a town which originated from the two bridgeheads that guarded the crossing of the Cam by the Roman Road — The Hadstock-Huntingdon Road of the Middle Ages. In 1376 the number of persons over fourteen years who were charged Poll Tax was 1,722 the total population then being less than 3,000, whilst in 1387 the inhabitants, apart from the university residents, was 4,990.[1] John Evelyn, the diarist, visited Cambridge in September 1654 and recorded "The whole town is situated in a low dirty unpleasant place, the streets ill paved, the air thick and infested by the fennes."[2] In May 1669 Cosmo de Medici, Prince of Tuscany, visited the town and a contemporary account of his tour notes "The ancient buildings are not much to be admired either for the beauty of their architecture or of their materials, the greater part of them being wood, with an outward facing of brick; the more modern ones are better." The population of the town was then estimated at about 12,000 including 2,500 members of the University. In 1749 and 1794 house to house returns showed 6,131 and 9,063 persons respectively, presumably excluding the members of the University. At the census of 1801 the population was 9,276 and by that of 1842 it had reached 24,000.

Cambridge had a medical school from the 14th century but it was never a big one and the teaching was essentially scholastic, there being no systematic teaching of clinical medicine or even anatomy. John Vigani, an Italian pharmacist who settled in Cambridge began to teach chemistry in 1683. It appears that he also taught materia medica as a large materia medica cabinet which had belonged to him is still in Queen's College. Robb-Smith.[3] states that Vigani's laboratory became the first physiological laboratory in the country. In 1719 John Addenbrooke, a Cambridge graduate who had practised in Staffordshire, left £4,500 to found a hospital. Building did not begin until 1759 and by 1766 a fund was set up to provide for staff and upkeep to enable the hospital to open. In 1767 the only resident medical staff was the apothecary who had to be permanently on the premises and was paid £25 plus £5 bonus. The hospital was gradually enlarged and became an important source of teaching material for the medical school. There were resident apothecaries from 1766 until 1859 when the post became House Surgeon and Apothecary until it was called House Surgeon. As in most 18th and 19th century hospitals this post combined the duties of House Surgeon and/or physician and pharmacist. From 1840 dispensers and later pharmacists took charge of the pharmacy.

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

Our investigations have shown that there was no clear distinction between apothecaries, physicians and surgeons in Cambridge up to at least the early 18th century. We have found evidence that some apothecaries practiced both medicine and surgery as well as supplying medicines and many persons who called themselves surgeons also acted as apothecaries or general medical practitioners. We believe, therefore, that it is incorrect and misleading to assume that any of these titles should be interpreted in their modern exclusive meanings. Moreover, there are examples where a practitioner used both the titles apothecary and surgeon and others where the same person was described as an apothecary on some occasions and as a surgeon on others. For example, Thomas Bond, Charles Lestourgeon and J V Oakes were originally called surgeons and later apothecary-surgeons (late 18th to early 19th centuries), Thomas Harrison, John Harvey and Henry Hayes were called surgeon-apothecaries. Jatt Jordan was described as "surgeon, man-midwife and apothecary".

John Crane and Robert Day were granted licences to practice medicine. Crane also gained a Doctor of Medicine degree, as did Thomas Frewen, whilst Peter Dent was granted the Bachelor of Medicine degree of Lambeth in 1678 which he incorporated at Trinity College in 1680. Robert Tabor (also called Talbor and Talbot), who was apprenticed to Peter Dent, later practiced medicine in Essex and eventually became physician to Charles II, Louis XIV, the Dauphin, the Queen of Spain and many other national leaders and members of the aristocracy. William Walker became a Doctor of Physic.

We have also found that almost all of the apothecaries indulged in minor surgery such as bleeding and tooth drawing and there were many occasions when they were called in to treat the sick, thus acting as physicians. Similarly there were very few surgeons who confined themselves entirely to surgery. There were occasions when the person employed to treat the sick poor by the Overseers of the Poor were apothecaries and others when a person called a surgeon would replace him and supply medicine as well as treat the sick.

It is obvious from our researches that the majority of the Cambridge apothecaries were wealthy men who had the same status as the physicians with whom many were on terms of intimate friendship. There was also inter-marriage between the families of apothecaries, physicians and surgeons. For example, Thomas Day left £1,000 and among his beneficiaries were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Ely, Sir Thomas Page and numerous prominent personalities of the university. He named Dr Ralph Flyer, MD of King's College as guardian of his younger children. John Swetson left legacies to several Fellows of Gonville & Caius College whom he described as his loving friends. The residue of his estate was left to "my approved Loving friend" Robert Eade, MD, a man of considerable eminence in Cambridge.

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In the rating list of 1601, the apothecary Peter Scarlet was one of the highest rate payers in Great St Mary's Parish, and, indeed in the town. He contributed generously to the church steeple fund. One of his apprentices was John Crane who was to become the most famous of all Cambridge apothecaries. Crane married Scarlet's daughter in 1601 and at about the same time became his father-in-law's partner. Crane was an intimate friend of the famous physician William Butler and the latter lived in his house for several years before his death. Crane became the beneficiary of a great part of Butler's wealth. In 1652 Crane bequeathed £3,000 for charitable purposes and £200 each to Dr Wren, Bishop of Ely and Dr Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter. He left his house in Great St Mary's parish to "the Regius Professor of Physic for the time being" and endowed Crane's Charity for the relief of poor sick scholars. In about 1700 Edward Halfhyde was the fourth largest ratepayer in Great St Mary's parish. Many Cambridge apothecaries played a prominent part in City and Church life. For example Crane was Sheriff of the County, John Fage was Mayor in 1668 and 1669, Thomas Day was Bailiff in 1656/59. William Frisby, Thomas Day and numerous others were Church wardens.

## William Sydey

The earliest Cambridge apothecary we have discovered so far is William Sydey. In the archives of St John's College there is a document which reads "Grant by Thomas Hompnate of Cambridge and Joan his wife and John Semer to William Sydey of the same, Henry Backworth Chaplain, and John Cowpere, Chaplain, of nine and a half acres of arable lying in Grithowfeld" At Cambridge 25 October 11 Hen.VI (1432). In May 1461 this land was conveyed to George Baker, Clerk, but the following month the following is recorded: "Grant by Robert Baker, Clerk to William Sydey, Margaret his daughter, Thomas Man, Clerk, and Henry Cossey, Clerk of nine acres in Grithowefeld which he had, gift of the said William by Charter dated at Cambridge 12 May 1 Edward IV to hold of the Lords by service." Dated at Cambridge 20 June 1 Edward IV (1461).[4]

## John Esewell

In the same archive it is record "John Esewell of Cambridge was one of four grantees of a grant by John Lombe, Agnes his wife and William Nappe of a newly built loft in Horningsea and the reversion subject to a life interest in 4 acres of land."
4 Dec. 12 Edward IV (1472.[5]

Gunther wrote of Esewell "The old quarter of the apothecaries seems to have been to the East of St Mary's Churchyard, where already in 1475 John

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Esewell, apothecary, held a lease of land then 'noisome from stench"[6].

## Richard the Apothecary

In the Cambridge University Grace Book is the entry "1494 Item pro pergameno empto de Ricardo potiqary" (Parchment bought of Richard the apothecary). Unfortunately we have no record of the surname of Richard.[7].

## The Veysey family

The Grace Book also records in the last decade of the 15th century numerous payments to Henry Vesey (Vasey) including several for Hippocratic Wine (This was a wine that had been filtered through a Hippocratic sleeve which was thought to improve its quality).[8]. His will of April 15 1503 describes him as a "poticary" and shows him to have been a man of considerable wealth. Among his bequests were gifts to "William, my servant" presumably an apprentice and to Paul Smith, an apothecary to whom his son John was later apprenticed.[9]. John Veysey was Henry's eldest son. A Poll Tax entry of 1512 records "Paul Smyth, apothecary lands and tento (tenements) £1. Moveables £100 to £200.....0.13.4. John Veysey, servant with the same, his apprentice, having lands and tenements, 12s. and a legacy from his father £20 to £40..... 0.3.4 Robert Foster and Robert Hebborne apprentices, no wage, each 4d. .....0.0.8.

There is no further mention of Foster and Hebborne who may have died[10]. or moved away from Cambridge. In 1517 John Vesey appears in a Subsidy as an apothecary on his own account.[11]. He must have become a wealthy man as he built a fine house at the South-East corner of Market Place which was not demolished until 1889. Fireplaces from it are preserved in the Borough Library and the Museum of Archeology. It was not far from the house of Paul Smith which was near the site of the present Guildhall.[12].

The Grace Book contains several interesting entries relating to John Vesey:–[13]. 1533/4 "Item Joanni Vasey for a pound of marmalet dato hispanico legato mandatum d Vicecancellarii.....VIIId" (Purchase of a pound of marmalade given to the Spanish legate by order of the Vice-Chancellor. Marmalet or Marmalade was at that time a preserve or confection made by boiling quinces. Later the name was applied to a preserve made from boiling any kind of fruit). 1535/6 "Item Johanni Vasey pr vino confecto dato Episcopo Hertfordensi iiis iiiid. (purchase of confect wine given to the Bishop of Hertford). John's will, dated October 20th 1544 included bequests to his apprentices Thomas Bridon and Henry Marshe.[14]. Henry Vesey Jr. was the younger son of Henry Sr. and brother of John. There are numerous references to him in the Churchwarden's Accounts of Great St Mary's between 1528 and 1537. He predeceased his brother who

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was one of the executors of his will dated March 15th 1534. One of the witnesses of the Will was John Thirly, Apothecary.[15] Henry Jr. was much less wealthy than John presumably because of his earlier death and the fact that he was a younger son.

## Thomas Bridon [Brydon]

Thomas Bridon appears to have lived in three parishes — All Saints, Holy Trinity and Great St. Mary's. He died in 1589 and a full inventory of his house and shop is extant. "In his shop were two settles as well as counters and on the back counter stood seven pairs of scales. Nearby were three ½ cwt. of lead and 19 lbs. of brass weights and on a rack on the wall were four pestles weighing 20 lbs and on their block four "brazen mortars weighing nine score and ten pounds, a marble mortar, a marble grynding stone" and "hanging candlestick", seven standing pots and one double styllatories of lead and another styllatory of lead. The 32 gallipots, 25 great boxes and 36 glasses, 7 oyle pots and 2 nests of boxes and 34 other boxes on his shelves held his conserves, confections and spices which included barberries, conserve of cherries and rose together with angelica, caraway seed, pepper cloves, cummin seed, cinnamon and other spices, prunes and raisons.

Brydon's drugs also included such items as Stavesacre, wax, Spermaceti, oil of roses and diachylon plaster. "If a customer hobbled in complaining from pains in the legs and his physician had prescribed Emplastrum Gratis or the plaster of the grace of God, then Brydon would supply this preparation which contained the juice of betony, verbena and pimpernel leaves, mixed with frankincense, wax and sheep's suet. The name of this plaster came from a legend that an angel brought it down from heaven to King Alexander for the people of his land when they were all near lost with deadly wounds of spear, dart and dagger and with many other maladies as the surgeons have long since fayned [found]".

## An early graduate apothecary

Venn's Alumni[17] has the following information about the Cambridge Apothecary George Brothers "Adm. King's (age 17), a scholar from Eton August 15 1505. of Shelswell, Oxon; BA 1509-10; MA 1513 Fellow (of King's) of Newport Pagnell, Bucks." Thatcher[18] adds "1505 George Brothers Mr. of Arts after an Apothecarie in Cambridge". The Eton College Register gives the names of his parents as Henry and Margaret and that of his wife as Agnes. His will proved in 1524.[19]

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### William Burwell and John Fage — two apothecary vintners

William Burwell who died in 1588 is of especial interest as he was a Freeman of the London Grocer's Company who was described in the will of James Hall (1557) as "Grocer and Potecary". He played a prominent part in the affairs of Great St Mary's parish. In the inventory compiled after his death he was described as "Vintner and Grocer".[20] About a century later, another apothecary John Fage, on marrying, in 1679, Lellis Spencer a widow, took over the Rose Tavern and became a vintner. The Inn had probably belonged to Lellis's first husband.[21]

### Cambridge apothecaries who were members of the London Company

Numerous Cambridge apothecaries were either members of the London Company or were apprenticed to London apothecaries.

### John Faldor

The following entry appears in the minutes of the Society of Apothecaries under the date of July 23 1633 — "Being free of the City of London by Patrimony and he having been bredd up in the arte of an apothecary in the towne of Cambridge and desirous to retire and dwell in London being his native place, did require the Master and Wardens of this Company to be admitted to the freedom for which he paid a fyne of £16.13.4. and other fees and gave 13.4 for a spoone."

### Thomas Berke

The London minute books also contain the following reference:— "Nov. 14 1634. This day Mr Thomas Berke an auncient apothecary dwelling in Cambridge offered to give unto his Company £30 to be admitted to the freedom of the Company. The money at the request of Mr Wolfe Gange Rumler is accepted whereupon he paid £30 and was admitted to the Freedom". The name of this apothecary had several variants. It was spelled Birt, Burt and Brit in the records of Great St. Mary's Church which contain numerous references to him between 1616 and 1664/5. He usually signed his name as "Bert". It seems that he remained in Cambridge after joining the London Company. He refused to accept the Livery of that Company in 1659 and 1666 when he must have been well over 70. A Bill in the archives of Christ's College shows that he did bleeding as well as supplying medicines.

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

It was receipted by his servant Edward Potter, presumably an apprentice. In 1643 Bert was a member of a Committee of Association set up to deal with matters arising out of the Civil War. He was thus a prominent citizen and his rating assessment and the fact that he subscribed £2,000 to the defence of the town show that he was a very wealthy man.[22]

### Joseph Hill

The name of Joseph Hill appears with the address of Cambridge in a list of provincial apothecaries of the late 17th century and in the list of members of the Society of 1693. We have not found an apothecary of that name in the Cambridge records but there are several references to Joseph Hill surgeon between 1723 and 1725 in the registers of Linton, Cambridge and he may well have been the same person. A Joseph Hill was Beadle of the London Company for a few months in 1712 to 1713.

### Samuel Dresser

Samuel, son of Thomas Dresser, MA Chaplain of King's College was born on May 4 1709 and apprenticed to John Payne, Citizen and Apothecary of London for eight years and was made free of the Company on July 4 1732. He appeared in the lists of the Society until 1740. He died in 1741 and was buried in Great St. Mary's Cambridge. There are numerous references to Dresser in the autobiography of the apothecary Simon Mason who took over Dresser's shop and house from his widow.[23]

### Thomas Scarancke [Searancke]

Thomas Scarancke was admitted to the London Company of Apothecaries on June 5 1770 by redemption, paying a fine of £16.19 and 40s. to the garden. He was promoted to the Livery in 1782 when his address was Newmarket. In February 1773 he rendered a Bill to the Overseers of St Bene't's parish for 2s. in respect of a patient Reeve.

### Stephen Lefebure

Stephen Lefebure was apprenticed to Isaac Mather of the London Company and made free on March 4 1760. His name appears in the Yeomanry list of the Society without an address from 1760 to 1765. He was apothecary to Addenbrooke's Hospital from 1766 to 1770. His address was still given as Cambridge in 1771. From 1779 to 1782 his address was given as

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East Ham and his name was spelled Lebfevre.[24] It is interesting to speculate whether he was a descendent of Nicholas Lefebure, FRS, Apothecary and Chemist to Charles II.

## Cambridge apothecaries and natural history

Several Cambridge apothecaries were interested in natural history and some made contributions to the early herbals.

### John Mersse

John Mersse of Marshe, son of Bartholomew of West Wickham, Cambridge, was educated at Bury St Edmunds School and admitted as a pensioner at Caius College, April 157 — at the age of 18. His father was described as "Mediocris fortunae", presumably middle class. John became a Master of Arts in 1575/76 and resided in Cambridge, being known as "Doctor". He assisted Gerard and his Herbal in 1587. He may have been related to Henry Mersse, the apprentice of John Vesey.[25]

### Peter Dent

Peter Dent was a well known apothecary of Cambridge who lived in St Sepulchre's Parish. He was a friend of the famous naturalist John Ray whom he assisted with many of his books.[26] He contributed to the *Catalogus Angliae* in 1670 and carrying on Ray's exploration of Cambridgeshire he produced the second Appendix to the Cambridge Catalogue in 1677. In the *Flora of Britain* Ray recorded that Peter Dent found *Papaver Dubium* and *Silene Angelica* "near the Devil's Ditch in Cambridgeshire". Dent also helped Ray with the study of fishes, obtaining and dissecting skates. In the *History of Fishes* Ray acknowledged Dent's observations on the eggs of the skate and on the sex organs of the flair. He also experimented on drying fish with salt to preserve them. In Ray's *Ornithology* there is a mention of Dent supplying a consignment of wild fowl and a description of the duck's trachea is credited to him.

### Pierce Dent

Peter Dent's son Pierce was also a botanist and Ray acknowledged in his *History of Plants* that "Pierce Dent with Samuel Dale found *Malaxis paludosa* in the fenny grounds near Gamlingay". Samuel Dale, a member

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of the London Company, was a friend of Ray and lived near him at Braintree, Essex.[27]

## Sir Robert Tabor [Talbor]

One of Peter Dent's apprentices was Robert Tabor who specialised in the treatment of fevers with cinchona bark and he treated many famous persons including Charles II who knighted him. Raven wrote "The account of the use of quinine in Ray's *Historia Plantarum,* p. 1796, is partly from Robert Tabor".[28]

## The Halfhydes

John Martyn in his books *Methodus*[29] and *Tournefort*[30] referred to Mr Halfhyde as an "eminent apothecary" having described many plants, especially cryptogams of Cambridgeshire". This was probably Thomas (1700-1745) son of Edmund Halfhyde. The latter was in practice in Cambridge from 1677 until his death in 1719. His widow Elizabeth carried on the pharmacy until her death in 1727 when it passed to Thomas.

We have found in many towns numerous instances of persons lodging with apothecaries and the Cambridge records have yielded several more.

## John Swetson

In 1610 the Churchwardens' Accounts of Great St Mary's parish record "the receipt of 6/8" (presumably from Swetson) for the careing (carrying) away of the corpes of Mr Soane from Mr Swethestonnes'. Presumably Soane was a patient who had died at Swetson's. John Swetson, whose name is spelled in several different ways had a very prosperous practice and was on intimate terms with the leading figures of Cambridge society of his time.

## John Crane

Dr William Butler, the famous physician lodged for several years before his death with John Crane, probably the most eminent apothecary of Cambridge.

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## Samuel Taylor

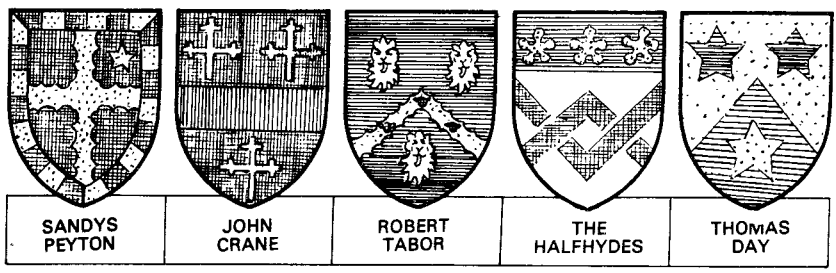
In 1629/30 the Church Warden's Accounts of Great St Mary's parish recorded "Received for the burial of a stranger that died at Mr Taylor's." The apothecary concerned was Samuel Taylor who died in 1646 and whose inventory is in the Manuscript Room of the University.

## Peter Dent

In May 1657 the Register of St Sepulchre's recorded the burial of "Margarite Rowelyson dying from Mr Dent's". From the date this must have been Peter Dent.

## William Price

The Rev. William Cole[31] wrote that in about 1781/82 William Neasfield "lodges now at Mr Price's, an apothecary in Cambridge where he reads lectures to six or seven scholars". William Price practiced first in All Saints and then in St Clement's Parish. He was apothecary to the Cambridge prisons from 1783 until his death in 1799.[32]

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## The plague in Cambridge

The bubonic plague raged in Cambridge in 1665/66 and, as in the Great Plague of London of 1665/66, deaths were so numerous that corpses were buried outside of the precincts of churches. Again, as in London, most of the victims were treated by the apothecaries. Those practising in the city at the time were William Frisby, Thomas Day, Robert Day, Peter Dent, Martin Buck and Sandys Peyton. The parish of Great St. Mary's where Frisby and the Days had their pharmacies was badly affected as was that of St Bene't's where Sandys Peyton practised. The latter issued an undated trade token bearing his coat of arms and a rose.[33]

## Apothecaries and the sale of tobacco

In 1634 five apothecaries and a grocer were licenced to sell tobacco in Cambridge. This resulted from an order of the Privy Council made on October 5 1634 which prohibited anyone from selling tobacco unless licenced by the King on the nomination of the Vice-Chancellor. They had to pay 500 marks for the privilege. The five were William Swetson, Ann Frisby (widow of John), George Taylor, Thomas Bert and John Seale.[34]

## Apothecaries in a Cambridge diary

Samuel Newton an Alderman of Cambridge kept a diary between 1662 and 1718. In it he made some interesting references to numerous apothecaries. Those mentioned were Peter Dent, William Frisby, Thomas Day, Edmund Halfhyde, Martin Buck, Charles Gillman, William Walker and Artemas Hinds.[35, 36]

## Women apothecaries in Cambridge

Several widows carried on the pharmacies of their husbands. Elizabeth Halfhyde has already been mentioned. Ann Frisby[34] carried on the business of John from his death in 1624 until at least 1634; Elizabeth Smith, widow of Francis was in business from 1733 until 1760;[37] Ann Gray, widow of Robert, from 1765 until at least 1777[38] and Elizabeth Sadler for a few months after William's death.[39] In the Jennings family Frances (I) took over the business of her husband Thomas from his death in 1781 until hers in 1790.[40] It then passed to their daughter Frances (II) who had probably been apprenticed to her father. There is a report of her being engaged by the overseers of Great St Mary's parish to treat a patient in Barnwell and she

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was employed by them in a smallpox epidemic in 1801. She thus preceded Elizabeth Garrett Anderson in the practice of medicine. Frances carried on the practice until 1801 when she retired. She died in 1824. Whilst it was not uncommon for a widow to carry on her husband's pharmacy it was rare for a single woman to own one. In 1735 a Mrs Collison supplied the overseers of St Edwards parish with a pot of ointment "For Darringtons". This is the only reference we have found to her. She may have been the mother of Thomas Collison who in 1745 took over the pharmacy of Thomas Halfhyde of the same parish.

## John Crane

John Crane was probably the most eminent of all Cambridge apothecaries and achieved the rare distinction of being included in the Dictionary of National Biography.[41] He was probably apprenticed to Peter Scarlet, apothecary of Cambridge, whose daughter Elizabeth, then aged 20, he married on September 30 1601. The marriage lasted nearly 51 years until Crane's death but they do not appear to have had any children. Crane was presumably employed by Scarlet both before and after the wedding and sometime between 1601 and 1607 they become partners. In the early years of the 18th century Crane came under the influence of Dr William Butler, whom, as we have seen, became his lodger for several years. Butler was a very wealthy man and Crane was the main beneficiary under his will.

Crane, as a result of his long association with Butler, and, no doubt, also by his own diligence and character, achieved considerable medical knowledge which brought him to the notice of the wealthy inhabitants of Cambridge. Edward, Earl of Clarendon, who, whilst on a visit to Cambridge, had been treated for smallpox by Crane, wrote that "His uncle put him under the care of Mr Crane an eminent apothecary who had been bred up under Dr Butler, and he was in much greater Practice than any physician in the University".[42]

Crane took an active part in the life of Great St Mary's parish. He died in 1652 at the age of 81 and was buried in that Church. His memorial bears the following Latin inscription:—

> "Here lies John Crane, Esquire, an outstanding physician and apothecary and a disciple of the great Butler. He was the Aesculapius of his age the heir and successor to Butler in his art. By applying himself for so many years to the restoration of the diseased body he made medicine as profitable to others as it was useful to himself. At least, in the fulness of days and works and a fair reputation, in piety and peace he fell asleep in the Lord. May 26 AD 1652. Aged 81."

The Church's benefaction board bears the following:— "John Crane Esq 1652. 20 l. for ye use of the senior church warden for ye time being and to continue to be paid to his successors for ever". In all Crane bequeathed £3,000 for charitable purposes. He gave the house in which he lived, after the death of his widow, to the Regius Professor of Physic for the time being.

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He also gave £1000 to the University "to be lent gratis to an honest man, the better to enable him to buy good fish and fowl for the university, having observed much sickness occasioned by unwholesome food in that kind." Crane also bequeathed £200 each to Dr Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Dr Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter.

Crane had a coat of arms bearing three red crosses crosslet fitchées. This adds yet another to the large number of apothecaries who used the red cross long before the first Geneva Convention.

## Simon Mason

From Cambridge's most eminent apothecary we turn to one who was probably the most notorious as he seems to have been in debt and trouble so often. He was Simon Mason who wrote in about the mid 18th century *Narrative of the Life and Distresses of Simon Mason, Apothecary*[43], one of the few autobiographies of apothecaries in existence. It contains 117 pages and is such a tale of woe that it does not sound convincing. Mason claims to have been deceived and cheated by almost everyone with whom he had dealings whilst he frequently praises his own virtues. He appears to have been incredibly naive, very stupid or to have had a disagreeable disposition which caused him to quarrel with so many people. If we believe his story, however, he must have been extraordinarily unlucky in his choice of business associates.

Mason was born in 1701 at Great Gransdon, Huntingdonshire, the son of Simon Mason, a graduate of Cambridge and a barrister-at-law. He was apprenticed to Ralph Cornelius, an apothecary of Fenchurch Street, London and whilst there attended classes at St Thomas' Hospital. After serving for nearly seven years he quarrelled and even came to blows with his master, after, to use his own words "I having had a glass too much". This suggests that alcoholism may have been the cause of his troubles. He left his master and went to live and work with Mr Clarke, whose pharmacy was also in Fenchurch Street. There were several apothecaries of that name in London at the time and we have not yet been able to ascertain his Christian name. Mason describes him as "an ingenious man who had a good deal of business, but he loved his glass and was not a little negligent". Mason claimed that Mr Clarke persuaded him to marry a Miss Pemberton on the understanding that her parents would pay £300 for Mason to become Clarke's partner. He wrote "what with old Pemberton's promises and Clarke's assurances...[he]...unknown to any relations contracted matrimony; and here began an incessant scene of misery from October the 4th 1722, to October 1754". It seems that neither the £300 nor the partnership were forthcoming so he set up a pharmacy in Stony Stratford obtaining his drugs on credit from Mr Wackett, a druggist of Snowhill, London. He had not been there long when he was put in gaol for a debt of £10 owed to the carpenter who had fitted up his pharmacy. He reported this

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to Mr Wackett who, he claimed, after promising him extended credit, also had him gaoled until he returned the drugs. He then had to sell the pharmacy to pay his creditors. William Wackett, Druggist of Snowhill, appears in Kent's Directory for 1754.

Mason next went to Cambridge as a journeyman to Mr Thomas Casborn, whom he described as "an understanding facetious man, lov'd his glass, and kept a good deal of company that engag'd him much from home". Mason apparently often went to the Tunns tavern with him. On one such occasion Casborn offered Mason a partnership if he would marry his daughter. Since he was already married he could not do so and Mason left Mr Casborn to set up his own pharmacy in Bridge Street with promises of credit from several persons including the Rev. Dr. Lunn, his uncle who apprenticed his son Thomas to Mason. Once again, he was, in his view, unjustly gaoled for debt, partly he wrote, at the instigation of the apothecary Thomas Lardner, who "seeing me thrive and creep in upon his business, attacked the weaker vessel in order to put a stop to the promissing prospect I had of well-doing". As before the business was sold by his creditors.

At about this time Mason's father died. He was present during the illness and wrote that he gave advice to his father's apothecary Mr Barecroft (probably George Bearcroft) who did not accept it. Mason disagreed with Bearcroft's treatment and proposed an immediate large bleeding and purgation. His father preferred to keep to Bearcroft's treatment and of it Mason wrote "soon I was an eye-witness of the consequence of such treatment, and my father was interr'd in St. Dunstan's Church Fleet Street, in the Year 1725." Mason seems to have had a big opinion of his own knowledge and this would not endear him to his colleagues. He claimed that his father's elder brother had defrauded him of the family fortune.

After attempting to start other pharmacies in Cambridge and Cottenham, both of which failed through the fault of others, Mason claimed, he went to London and started to practice as a physician in Hanover Street but soon reverted to being an apothecary. He applied for posts as apothecary to the poor of several parishes and to a workhouse but in each instance he was unsuccessful, because, he wrote, of persons who had promised to help him, but deceived him instead. He had a pharmacy in Market Harborough which failed and he made numerous other attempts to establishment but they were all unsuccessful and Mason always blamed the failures on others.

There are numerous references in the Cambridge archives to payments being made to Mason and his family.[44] He wrote two other books:— *The Nature of an Intermitting Fever and Ague* (1745) and *Practical Observations in Physick* (1757)

Mason's autobiography is an important document because of its numerous references to apothecaries in Cambridge, London and elsewhere. The lists of subscribers to the books include many apothecaries, physicians and surgeons from many parts of the country.

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During the 18th Century the apothecaries of Cambridge, like those of London and elsewhere, gradually changed from the practice of pharmacy to that of medicine. By the beginning of the 19th Century the chemists and druggists had begun to take over most of the practice of pharmacy. During these periods a variety of titles was used.

### John Smithers Crosly

The earliest chemist and druggist we have found in Cambridge was John Smithers Crosly whose will dated November 10 1797 was proved on July 13 1788 by his wife Joan who was his sole executrix. He left £800 to a son and £1,000 to a daughter on her attaining the age of 21. The residue was left to his wife. The will showed that he was a wealthy man.[45]

### John Hoffman

Another interesting person was John Hoffman who was called apothecary and chemist.[46] He was born a Frenchman in about 1729 and his original name was Nicholas Godard. He probably changed his name in 1770 when he took over the pharmacy of William Sadler, an apothecary of St Bene't's parish. Despite his different title Hoffman's practice was very similar to that of Sadler and he continued to supply medicines and treat the sick of the parish. He assisted Isaac Pennington, the Professor of Chemistry, in a course of chemistry lectures.[47] He had a fever powder which he supplied free to the poor to whom he also gave free advice.

### William Tinney

William Tinney who died in 1814 was described as a surgeon-apothecary but he had been in partnership with Peter Kelty, an established apothecary and they acted as apothecaries to the poor of the parish of Great St Andrew's and St Andrew-the-less.

### William Beales

In 1782 William Beales took over the tenancy of a house in All Saint's parish which had previously been occupied by the apothecary Thomas Prince. Beales was called druggist, surgeon and apothecary in different documents and is sometimes referred to as "Dr" and others as "Mr". He also had premises in Trumpington Street.[48] Like Prince he was employed by the overseers of St Clement's parish and also at times by those of St Bene't's and St Andrew-the-less.

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## Joseph Stanley

In 1791 the pharmacy of John Hoffman was taken over by Joseph Stanley who was only 22 at the time. He had a very successful practice and at various times was apothecary to the parishes of Bene't's St Edwards and St Clement's. The 1805/7 Directory of Cambridge described him as a druggist of Peas Market Hill.

In 1815 he took as a partner his nephew Stanley Wentworth, MRCS LSA and for a time they were styled Stanley and Wentworth, Surgeons, although the practice remained essentially that of apothecaries.

## David Wray, Thomas Pettit and James Heckford

David Wray of Castle Street was called surgeon and apothecary[49] as was Thomas Pettit of St Andrew's-the-less[50] whilst Thomas James Heckford of Trumpington Street called himself apothecary-surgeon.[51]

## Charles Orridge

An interesting chemist and druggist of Cambridge was Charles Orridge who, with his wife Ann, registered the birth of sons in Holy-Trinity registers in July 1816 and October 1818. Their address was Market Place in 1816 and Market Hill in 1818. Charles' nephew Benjamin Brodie Orridge, born in Malta in 1814 was one of the Founder Members of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain and he served on the Council from 1864 until a few months before his death in 1870 and was apprenticed to his uncle, a chemist in Colchester. Later he went to London and became Dispenser at Marylebone Infirmary. He then went into business as a chemist at Deptford where in June 1841 he was appointed "Chemist to the Queen". He was a founder member of the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, became a member of its Council in 1864 and served on it until a few months before his death in 1870. In 1846 he founded in Bucklersbury, the traditional street of apothecaries, the firm of Orridge and Co., the well-known business of Chemist's transfer agents which still bears his name.[52] Another founder member of the Pharmaceutical Society, William Orridge, whose address was 97 High Street Deptford. He was probably the son of Charles who was baptised on October 14 1818.[53]

The story of the apothecaries of Cambridge is a fascinating one and illustrates the wealth of material available in that city. Similar records undoubtedly exist in many other cities and towns.

https://doi.org/10.24355/dbbs.084-201802201047

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**Note**

Mr Maurice Newbold who died in January 1976 made voluminous manuscript biographies of many apothecaries, physicians and surgeons of Cambridge. Copies of these have been deposited with the following libraries:— The Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, Royal College of Physicians of England and the Royal College of Surgeons of England.

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